

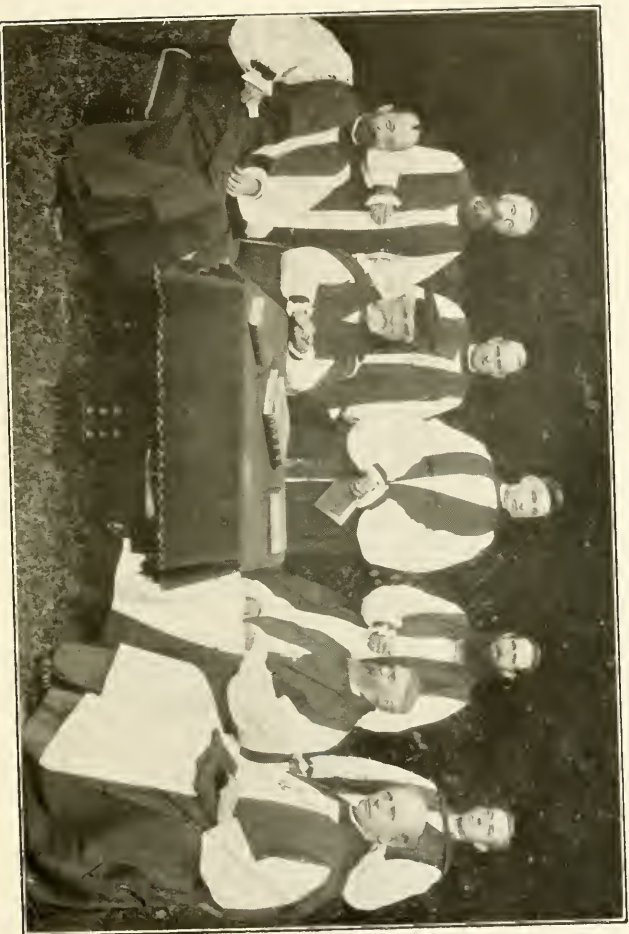
HANDBOOKS OF
ENGLISH CHURCH EXPANSION

SOUTH AFRICA

BY THE
RIGHT REV. A. HAMILTON BAYNES



EDITED BY
CANON DODSON, M.A.
CANON BULLOCK-WEBSTER, M.A.



SOUTH AFRICAN BISHOPS. PROVINCIAL SYNOD, 1898.

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|--|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| BISHOP GRISON.
(Coadjutor of Capetown.) | BISHOP CARTER.
(Zululand.) | ARCHBISHOP JONES.
(Capetown.) | BISHOP SAYTHE.
(Lebombo.) | BISHOP GAUL.
(Mashonaland.) |
| BISHOP BAYNES.
(Natal.) | BISHOP BOUSFIELD.
(Pretoria.) | | BISHOP KEY.
(S. John's.) | BISHOP HICKS.
(Bloemfontein.) |



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Handbooks of English Church Expansion

EDITED BY

T. H. DODSON, M.A.

*Principal of S. Paul's Missionary College, Burgh; and Canon of
Lincoln Cathedral*

AND

G. R. BULLOCK-WEBSTER, M.A.

Hon. Canon of Ely Cathedral

WITH A GENERAL PREFACE BY
THE BISHOP OF S. ALBANS

Handbooks of English Church Expansion

Edited by T. H. DODSON, M.A., Principal of S. Paul's Missionary College, Burgh, and Canon of Lincoln Cathedral; and G. R. BULLOCK-WEBSTER, M.A., Hon. Canon of Ely Cathedral.

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Handbooks of English Church Expansion

South Africa

BY THE

RIGHT REV. A. HAMILTON BAYNES,

D.D. (OXON) ; D.D. (S. ANDREWS)

Sometime Bishop of Natal

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAP

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GENERAL PREFACE

IT was said, I believe by the late Bishop Lightfoot, that the study of history was the best cordial for a drooping courage. I can imagine no study more bracing and exhilarating than that of the modern expansion of the Church of England beyond the seas during the past half century, and especially since the institution of the Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions. It is only when these matters are studied historically that this expansion comes out in its true proportions, and invites comparison with the progress of the Church in any similar period of the world's history since our LORD'S Ascension into heaven.

But for this purpose there must be the accurate marshalling of facts, the consideration of the special circumstances of each country, race and Mission, the facing of problems, the biographies of great careers, even the bold forecast of conquests yet to come. It is to answer some of these questions, and to enable the general reader to gauge the progress of Church of England Missions, that Messrs. A. R. Mowbray and Co. have designed a series of handbooks,

of which each volume will be a monograph on the work of the Church in some particular country or region by a competent writer of special local experience and knowledge. The whole series will be edited by two men who have given themselves in England to the work and study of Foreign Missions—Canon Dodson, Principal of S. Paul's Missionary College, Burgh, and Canon Bullock-Webster, of Ely.

I commend the project with all my heart. The first volume, which I have been able to study in proof, appears to me an excellent introduction to the whole series. It is a welcome feature of missionary work at home that we have now passed into the stage of literature and study, and that the comity of Missions allows us to learn from each other, however widely methods may vary. The series of handbooks appears to me likely to interest a general public which has not been accustomed to read missionary magazines, and I desire to bespeak for it a sympathetic interest, and to predict for it no mean success in forming and quickening the public mind.

EDGAR ALBAN.

HIGHAMS,
WOODFORD GREEN, ESSEX,
November 10, 1907.

EDITORS' PREFACE

FEW facts in modern history are more arresting or instructive than the rapid extension of the Church's responsibilities and labours in the colonial and missionary fields ; yet, until recently, few facts perhaps have been less familiar to those who have not deliberately given themselves to a study of the subject.

It has therefore been felt that the time has come when a series of monographs, dealing with the expansion of the Church of England beyond the seas, may be of service towards fixing the popular attention upon that great cause, the growing interest in which constitutes so thank-worthy a feature in the Church's outlook to-day.

The range of this series is confined to the work in which the Church of England is engaged. That story is too full to allow of any attempt to include the splendid devotion, and the successful labours, of other Missions of Christendom. But, for a fair understanding either of the Christian advance generally or of the relative position of our own

work, a knowledge of those Missions is essential; and it is in the hope of leading some of its readers to such further comparative study that this series has been taken in hand.

The Editors have tried to keep in view the fact that, while the wonderful achievements here recorded have been accomplished in large part through the agency of our Missionary Societies, yet these Societies are, after all, only the hands and arms of the Holy Church in the execution of her divine mission to the world.

They have directed their work, as Editors, simply to securing general uniformity of plan for the series, and have left each writer a free hand in the selection of material and the expression of opinion.

T. H. D.

G. R. B.-W.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE Preface to the earliest work on Church history—the first systematic record of Christian expansion—looks back behind the Day of Pentecost and behind the Ascension to “all that JESUS began both to do and to teach,” implying that all the story the writer had to tell was of what JESUS, ascended yet present, continued to do and to teach in His Church.

That is the pattern for all Church history to follow—the modern story, like the ancient, is of the doings and teachings of Him Who is still in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks. And the record has still the twofold character. It is the story of doing and teaching, of the outward and the inward, the outward history of travel and founding, of building and organizing; the inward history of truth and doctrine and principle behind and underneath the material superstructure.

In the following slight sketch of South African Church expansion I have had two classes of

readers in mind. First, those who are chiefly interested in the fascinating story of the outward growth—the facts, the men, the places, the buildings, the gradual expansion from the “day of small things,” from one diocese to ten, by which “the little one has become a thousand”; and, secondly, those who are even more interested in the inward principles, the doctrinal and constitutional questions of which the outward developments are the product and expression. The one class will think how the kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed, and will rejoice to watch the smallest of all seeds grow into the great tree. The latter class will look deeper and see, with the eye of the soul, the leaven which is hid in the three measures of meal, and will trace the unseen process by which the kingdom of heaven as a spiritual force is working till the whole is leavened.

For the sake of the latter class of readers I have devoted considerable space to those controversies, which, though they often lead us into the dusty arena of the Law Courts, are an important and inevitable part of the process by which great principles of ecclesiastical polity are established. For the sake of the former class of

•

readers I have banished a large part of this record to an appendix, so that they may, if they prefer, follow the outward progress of the Church with less interruption.

On the one hand I was anxious that the missionary student should find a more or less continuous story of the¹ pioneering march of the Christian army. On the other hand, I felt that no story of the South African Church would be complete without a statement, full enough to be intelligible, of the constitutional struggle by which that Church has done so much to settle the lines on which the Anglican communion must be organized in those new lands where the Church is no longer "by law established." The fact that so many people have asked me, since my return from Natal, what the Colenso controversy was about, seems to show that there is need for a simple statement of the facts, and that it may be convenient to have, side by side, the salient points of the several legal decisions to which it gave rise.

In describing these controversies I have tried to be impartial. "All battle," says Carlyle, "is misunderstanding." I have tried to see the truth which animated each side. And I hope that the

result may be, not the reopening of dispute, but the strengthening of the bond of peace which now, by GOD'S grace, prevails.

In conclusion I acknowledge, with much gratitude, the debt which I owe to previous writers—to the biographers of Bishop Gray, Bishop Colenso, and Archbishop Tait, to Dr. Wirgman, of Port Elizabeth, to the Right Hon. James Bryce, to the S.P.G. Digest, and to many other authorities. I am also indebted to the Bishops of Natal, Zululand, and S. Helena, and to the Rev. Canon Mullins, the Rev. the Hon. A. G. Lawley, and the Rev. E. H. Etheridge for important contributions. And finally I wish to thank my old friend Bishop Gibson for his great kindness in revising the proofs and supplying me with much valuable information as to the more recent developments of the Church in South Africa.

A. HAMILTON BAYNES,

BP.

NOTTINGHAM,

May, 1908.

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Handbooks of English Church Expansion

SOUTH AFRICA



CHAPTER I

RACE PROBLEMS

WHEN Bartholomew Dias, with his Portuguese navigators, discovered the Cape in 1486, he called it "The Cape of Storms," but his king, John II, renamed it "The Cape of Good Hope." It would be hard to say, in the light of its subsequent history, which was the more appropriate title—whether the pessimism of the subject or the optimism of the sovereign has received the fuller justification. In things civil and things ecclesiastical there has been no lack of storms. But South African storms are followed by brilliant sunshine, and though the clouds were often of the blackest—

"Yet Hope had never lost her youth,"

and the brighter name has survived, and will, we may still trust, finally justify its selection.

"Good
Hope."

The "Hope" which gave its name to the Cape was the hope of finding a sea-route to India. That hope was fulfilled by Vasco da Gama, who, after discovering Natal on Christmas Day, 1497, and naming it after the Natal Day of our LORD, accomplished the long-desired end of finding the way to India. But there were other hopes which were never absent from the minds of the sea-rovers of that age—the hope of finding gold and precious stones. Those hopes also were destined long years after to find at Kimberley and Johannesburg a fulfilment beyond the dreams of avarice. But they were, probably, the chief causes of the fact, which is noteworthy in South African history, that the Portuguese, who were first in the field, play but a small part in the subsequent story. Lured, no doubt, by vague rumours of those early gold workings which have left faint traces at Zimbabwe, they pressed on east and north to the Mozambique coast where they still rule. In doing so they left the substance for the shadow, the temperate climate and the fertile lands for the fever-stricken swamps, and the more tropical heat of a country which can never become a white

Portuguese

man's land to the same extent as the Cape Colony and the high veld. So in this history the Portuguese come on to the stage only to pass off again, and we are left to consider the peoples who were there before them and the people who followed after. And the races which meet in South African history are many and diverse. It is in this clash of races that most of the "storms" which have given a sad verification to the earliest name of the Cape had their origin. And though our immediate task is with the ecclesiastical rather than the political history, we cannot altogether understand the former without some slight acquaintance with the latter.

The earliest inhabitants of whom we know Bushmen. anything were the Bushmen. A diminutive race, possibly akin to the Pigmies whom Stanley found further north, they take a very low place in the scale of civilization. They wore few clothes, built few houses, cultivated no land, but lived in caves, and supported themselves by hunting and stealing, or lived on roots and wild fruits. One gleam of higher light they had, and they have left behind them one pathetic token of faculties of a higher and more human order, in the drawings of men and animals which may still be seen in places

where the painters have long disappeared—on the rock surfaces, for instance, of the caves in the Drakensberg Mountains of Natal.

Hottentots The race which the Portuguese and the Dutch found in chief possession at the Cape was that one which the Dutch named Hottentots. It is supposed that they had dispossessed the Bushmen of the best lands along the coast. They were a people also of somewhat small stature and of a yellowish dusky hue. In their unmixed purity of blood they have practically disappeared, except perhaps in Namaqualand, but their half-breed descendants—half-Hottentot and half-Dutch—are still in evidence throughout the Cape Colony, and especially in the tribes which bear the name of Griquas, a people of yellowish complexion, and speaking the Dutch language, or rather the Dutch patois called the “Taal.”

Bantus. But the native race which does *not* tend to disappear, which flourishes and increases at a rapid rate under European influence, is the race which bears the generic title of Bantu. It includes many tribes and many types of physiognomy. The Kafirs, the Zulus, the Basutos, the Bechuanas, the Matabele, the Mashonas, and many more, belong to the Bantu race. In feature they

approximate at the one end to the negro and at the other to the Arabs and other Semitic people. They have black or brown skins, woolly hair, thick lips and flat noses, though here and there men are found with the sharper profile and the curving contour of the Asiatic type. There is a vague tradition among them that they came from the north, and it seems likely to be true, and probably they have an infusion of Arab blood introduced far back into their race in the time when in North Africa their forefathers mixed with the Semitic peoples.

These were the three main divisions of the native inhabitants whom the earliest European settlers found in South Africa. The confusion of race has been still further increased by the introduction, by the Dutch, of large numbers of Malays from the Dutch possessions in the Malay Archipelago, and later by the introduction, by the British, of Indian coolies.

Malays and
Indians.

And now we must trace, in briefest outline, the history of the European immigrations into South Africa which followed the passing wave of Portuguese adventurers which we have noticed in the fifteenth century.

The first coming of the Dutch was due to the

Dutch.

mere accident that the Cape was a convenient port of call on the long voyage to Dutch East India. There, again and again in the early part of the seventeenth century, ships put in to obtain fresh water and vegetables, things of priceless value to crews which suffered from the scurvy which was the curse of those long voyages. So they landed at the Cape and planted vegetables. As Mr. Bryce says, "It is from these small beginnings of a kitchen-garden that Dutch and British dominion in South Africa has grown up." England had also put in a claim as early as 1620 to dominion at the Cape. In that year two naval commanders had dropped anchor in Table Bay and hoisted the British flag, but their action was not recognized or followed up by the authorities at home, and very soon the troubles of Cavalier and Roundhead drove all thoughts of South Africa out of English heads. But the Dutch were less preoccupied, and at the suggestion of a shipwrecked crew, which had spent six months beneath Table Mountain, the Dutch East India Company landed three ships' crews in 1652 under the command of Jan van Riebeck. For five and twenty years from this time the little colony remained content with the environs of what is now Cape-

town. There they built their first church, which was served by a lay preacher called Wylant, the colony being considered too insignificant to need an ordained minister. There they began to plant the pines and oaks which have made the roads around Capetown resemble the stately groves and avenues of some noble park. And there they made their first experiments in vine and fruit-growing. There, too, alas, they brought the curse of slavery, landing negroes from the west coast and sowing seeds of future trouble. A more valuable element was, however, added to the Huguenots community in 1687. Two years before that date the Edict of Nantes had been revoked by Louis XIV, and many Huguenot families had found their way into the Netherlands. A party of these was persuaded to emigrate to the Cape. Some three hundred set sail and made their home in South Africa. They were men of higher type, in education and social standing, than the Dutch farmers, who mostly sprang from the lowest ranks of society, and in their new settlements at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein they soon made their influence felt. They brought their own pastor, Pierre Simond. The Dutch applied to them the policy which they have often resented

when applied to themselves. They insisted on the use of the Dutch language, and in other ways pressed on a policy of amalgamation. This end they so effectively attained that before long the fusion was complete, and though the prevalence of French names among the leading Boers (the Jouberts, Marais, De la Reys, etc.) shows how largely the Huguenots have leavened the community, yet the Dutch pronunciation which has been given to them (Villiers being pronounced Vilje, and Celliers, Celje) shows how effectively the Huguenot leaven has been absorbed.

Dutch East
India Com-
pany.

Meanwhile the Dutch farmers had been gradually overspreading the country districts and learning the joys of isolation and independence which have so strongly marked them ever since, and, at the same time, the power of the Dutch East India Company was steadily waning and its governors becoming more and more unpopular. The Government of the Company had never been sympathetic, though its hold upon the people of course varied according to the tact and popularity of the governor of the day. But it had always been autocratic, the farmers having no direct share in it. It had been aristocratic and socially out of touch with the democratic Boers. It had been need-

lessly officious, interfering in the smallest matters with the freedom of the individual, prescribing what crops the farmers should grow, and demanding a large share of their produce, and establishing commercial monopolies with small regard to the prosperity of the people.

To these causes may be attributed that growing dislike of orderly government and that longing to escape into the wilds, where each man might live under his own vine and fig-tree, which have been a characteristic of the South African Boers under both Dutch and British rule. This growing feeling of repugnance to the Government of the Dutch East India Company steadily increased through the latter half of the eighteenth century. Delegates were sent to Holland to state the grievances of the Boers, and although commissioners were sent out to inquire, the remedies suggested were felt to be inadequate. Then came the exciting news of the revolt of the British colonies in America, and of the revolutionary movements in France. And all these causes co-operating led to a revolt of the Dutch farmers, who set up small republics at Graaf-Reinet and Swellendam, and affairs in the Cape Colony seemed to be fast drifting into anarchy and bankruptcy.

Revolt of
Boers.

British
occupation

At this moment South Africa was swept into the vortex of European politics. The English, who, with their rapidly increasing responsibilities in India, had learnt to take a far different estimate of the value of the Cape from that which they had formed in 1620, espoused the cause of the Stadtholder, and in 1795 took possession of the country in his name. As, however, at that moment the Prince of Orange was unable to hold the Cape, the British remained in possession until the peace of Amiens in 1802, when it was handed back to Holland. But war broke out afresh in the following year, and the struggle with Napoleon made the possession of the naval station at the Cape a matter of great importance to England, and accordingly in 1806 a strong force was landed at the Cape, when, after a single engagement, the British flag was hoisted at Capetown and the Dutch surrendered. In the chaos of the preceding years there had grown up a desire for orderly government, so that opposition to the British rule was but half-hearted, and many of the Dutch rejoiced in the prospect of a strong regime which should restore the waning prosperity of the country.

It is interesting, from our point of view, to

notice that Henry Martyn, the devoted missionary, Henry Martyn. was on board the fleet which lay anchored in Table Bay, on his way to India. After the battle of Blaauberg he ministered to the wounded and dying, and in his diary he writes (January 10, 1806): "About five the commodore fired a gun, which was instantly answered by all the men-of-war. On looking for the cause we saw the British flag flying from the Dutch fort. I prayed that the capture of the Cape might be ordered to the advancement of CHRIST'S kingdom, and that England, while she sent the thunder of her arms to the distant regions of the globe, might not remain proud and ungodly at home, but might show herself great indeed by sending forth the ministers of her Church to diffuse the Gospel of Peace."

In 1814 the occupation of the British was transformed into permanent sovereignty by formal cession from the Stadtholder, who received for this and other Dutch possessions the sum of £6,000,000.

Space does not permit of anything like a history of the country. All this outline is intended to do is to give some idea of the various races which have found a home side by side in South Africa,

in order that we may understand the nature of those struggles which have marked the history of South Africa from the beginning of European occupation, and have given all too dismally accurate a verification to the first name its Cape received as the Cape of Storms.

Race
problem.

Here, then, are the factors in that race problem which have taxed the brains of statesmen and philanthropists for the last century—this motley crowd of races, black and white, civilized and uncivilized, flung down and huddled together in a country which, though vast in extent, is yet not so unlimited that each could go its own way without conflict with the others. And any history of the Church must face this problem on the very threshold, for from the Day of Pentecost, the solution of it has been the first duty of the Church. According to the story of the Book of Genesis the confusion of tongues is a sort of devil's sacrament—the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual disgrace—of the pride and prejudice of men which lead to jealousy and hatred and internecine strife. Behind that difference of language lies the difference of mind and thought and aim and method which makes mutual understanding and sympathy so hard to learn. And

the work which the Church began on the very day of her birth was the work of reconciliation—not the work of reducing all to a dead level of uniformity, not the introduction of one language, but the introduction of a concord of hearts finding expression in the astonished cry, “We do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of GOD,” such a reconciliation that each, while retaining and developing its individuality, may bring that individual contribution into the common stock, and make it subserve to a common good, until the different races meet in an all-embracing city of GOD, and the “nations walk in the light of it, and the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it.”

Reconciling forces.

The various divisions and subdivisions of race group themselves into two main divergences—that of black and white, and that of Boer and Briton. These two controversies appear and reappear, and cross and recross each other, throughout the history, and would seem indeed perennial were it not for our faith that the secret and the motive power for its solution is latent in the Church of CHRIST.

Why is it that these race controversies have been so much harder to overcome in South

The
problem
elsewhere.

Africa than elsewhere? A little consideration may help us to an answer. The controversy of black and white meets us in many parts of the world, but in most of these the problem seems in a fair way to a solution in the ordinary course of nature. There are many black or coloured races which gradually disappear when brought into contact with a higher civilization. The struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest have done their work, or are doing it; in some cases, no doubt, with many accompanying elements of cruelty and inhumanity, but sometimes, in spite of the best intentions, and the most benevolent activities, of the higher race. The Red Indians in America, the Maori in New Zealand, the aborigines of Australia from one cause or another are going or gone. On the other hand, there are many regions where black and white meet which can never become permanently a white man's country. Conditions of climate prevent the white man from making his home and bringing up his children there, so that the white population remains a limited official class which never enters into any considerable competition with the coloured race, and never seriously menaces their land or their goods. The British in India,

the Dutch in the Malay Islands, the French in Siam are examples of this condition of things.

But South Africa falls under neither of these categories. The Bantu races show no sign of dying out in contact with civilization. On the contrary, they flourish and increase faster than before. The Pax Britannica, the absence of decimating wars, the resources of civilization to contend with diseases of men and animals, and to develop the productiveness of nature, all favour the rapid increase of the coloured races. And those races are both healthy and fertile, and the conditions of climate are congenial to them. On the other hand, they are not so uncongenial to the white man that he cannot make his permanent home in the country. He readily adapts himself to the surroundings, and he has come to stay. Here, then, are the factors of a very serious problem and one that must inevitably grow more serious according to the present laws of growth. Both populations increase, but the black increases more rapidly than the white, and the land remains a fixed quantity, so that sooner or later the time must come when it is felt to be too narrow for the demands of the population.

South
Africa
exceptional

It may be well here to give the actual figures

showing the proportion of Europeans to coloured people of all descriptions. I take them from the *Report of the South African Native affairs Commission*, published in 1905:—

Statistics.	State.	Europeans.	Coloured people.	No. of times as many coloured as Europeans.
	Cape Colony -	579,741	1,830,063	3·1
	Natal -	97,109	1,011,645	10·4
	Orange River -	143,419	241,626	1·6
	Transvaal -	299,327	1,103,134	3·5
	Swaziland	15,420	1,145,352	74·2
	Basutoland			
	Rhodesia			
	Bechuanaland			
	Total -	<u>1,135,016</u>	<u>5,331,820</u>	<u>4·6</u>

But the problem presented by these figures is not merely that of the struggle for existence. It is more subtle and complicated. There is never absent in the relations of the two colours the horror on the part of the white man of any intermixture of blood, and consequently of any suggestion of equality which might break down the separating barriers. How strong this sentiment is no one can perhaps fully realize who has not lived in Africa or in the Southern States of America. There is only one European Nation in which the sentiment has been comparatively weak.

That is the Portuguese. And their experience is not encouraging. Both in Africa and India they have mingled and intermarried more freely than other Europeans with the native populations in the midst of which they dwelt. And the result has not been to level up the lower race but to level down the higher. And in India to-day the so-called Portuguese are but a step removed from the natives. In fact, in some respects, the half-caste races are in a worse condition than the pure natives. They are looked down upon and disliked by both sides, and there seems a tendency to moral degeneration among them.

Intermix-
ture.

There is, indeed, one Eastern race with regard to whom this horror of intermixture seems on the way to disappear, or at least to be greatly modified. That is the Japanese. The disparity of colour and type is somewhat less marked than in the case of other Eastern peoples, and consequently there is not the same physical repulsion. But the change of sentiment with regard to them is something more than this. Men are not animals, to be directed merely by instinctive physical repulsion or attraction. The physical always rests to some extent upon the spiritual. And it is rather the fact that the Japanese have

been entering into fellowship with Europe in the world of ideas—in culture, in refinement, in heroism, in political and artistic and literary capacity—which is tending to break down the prejudice against the yellow skin in their case. It is not, perhaps, altogether inconceivable that, as with Othello in Shakespeare, in some far distant future the same tendency may appear with regard to the black races. But that time is still below any horizon which we at present can see. Meanwhile there are two Scriptural principles which have guided the Christian Church in dealing with this problem. One is that in the Church of CHRIST “there can be neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free”—that to ask the question, “Who is my neighbour?” with a view to drawing a line and limiting the duty of love is to undermine the whole structure of the universal kingdom of GOD. But this does not involve the teaching of equality. S. Paul has taught us that there are many and diverse members in the one body. And it is obvious that there cannot be equality between races which are just emerging from barbarism and those which have behind them centuries of Christian civilization. But it does involve the teaching of brother-

Scriptural
principles.

hood. The native is a brother, though it may be a younger brother who is still a child. It is not, therefore, inconsistent for the Church to set its face strenuously against any intermixture of blood. The Church at home proclaims the doctrine of brotherhood as between Belgravia and Bethnal Green, but it does not encourage intermarriage.

The second Scriptural principle which guides us is that GOD, Who has "made of one blood all nations of men," has also "determined their appointed seasons and the bounds of their habitation." That is to say, Christian truth does not ignore national distinctions, though it sets itself against national selfishness and prejudice.

The consistent aim, therefore, of the Christian Church has been to set itself against wild doctrines, as foolish as they are dangerous, of equality between black and white ; and, on the other hand, to break down prejudice, and inculcate brotherly relations, and to encourage the natives to assimilate European culture and ideas, and to allure those who are thus emerging from barbarism to the side of law and order by making the separating line between the enfranchised and unenfranchised not simply one of colour but one of culture and civilization.

Brother-
hood not
equality.

It is in accordance with this principle that the Commission already quoted resolved, "that in the interests of both races, for the contentment of the native population and better consideration of their interests, it is desirable to allow them some measure of representation in the Legislatures of the country," and went on to suggest principles by which such representation should be safeguarded against dangerous results.

Briton and
Boer.

But the problem of white and black has been throughout the history complicated by, and interwoven with, the other race problem of Briton and Boer. Here again it may be asked why it is that these two kindred nations have not long ago fused into a single and harmonious unity, just as the more widely separated Dutch and Huguenot people in South Africa have done, or as the Dutch and English did long ago in New York. Many reasons may be given for this continued disunion. The character and habits of the Dutch farmers kept them remote and isolated. The nature of the soil and the conditions of stock farming require a wide area, and the Boer remains isolated and therefore little affected by new ideas. He retains all his ancient prejudices, which are not rubbed off by contact at close quarters with

the English of the towns. Again, there may have been a want of wisdom and tact in the early part of last century in substituting English for Dutch methods of local government, and in insisting on the use of the English language, so that the Boer acquired a deep-rooted sense of hardship and grievance.

But far beyond these causes is the one perennial source of trouble in South African history, and that is the tactless and unsympathetic interference of the home authorities in matters with which, at a distance of six thousand miles, they could have but little knowledge. And this interference has been too often due to the passing exigencies of party government, so that the people of South Africa have felt they were being exploited, and their affairs managed or mismanaged, merely at the bidding of political wirepullers in England. This has often aroused the strongest resentment on the part of our own countrymen in South Africa; how much more, therefore, must it have been resented by the Dutch? And even where the motive at work has been a higher one than mere party victory, there has often been a fatal vacillation between conflicting ideals, the incompatibility of which has not at the time been clearly

Political
vacillation.

Incompat-
ible ideals.

perceived. For instance, there are two ideals, each excellent in itself, which have animated the English democracy—the ideals of political freedom and of humanity towards native races. But it has often been forgotten that between these two the Home Government must choose. It is impossible at the same moment to insist on freedom of self-government for colonists or Boers, and on taking out of their hands the one thing which supremely concerns them, viz., the management of native affairs. The incompatibility of these two ideals was clearly pointed out by Lord Milner in dispatches dealing with the native question in 1902, directly after we assumed control of the Transvaal during the late war. In a memorable sentence, which might have applied to many epochs in South African history, he says, “Most especially would I raise a warning voice against the fatal doctrine that the Imperial Government is to deal with the native question regardless of colonial sentiment. That doctrine, absurdly enough, is often preached in the very quarters where there is the loudest demand for the immediate complete self-government of the new territories.”

I have been dealing with these fundamental race problems which have been present all through

the stormy history of South Africa quite generally and regardless of chronology, showing, as in the last paragraph, the operation of old controversies in the light of latest events. But it is time that we turned back to the history to see how these two conflicts—that of white against black, and that of Briton against Boer—have recurred from the first.

In the century between 1781 and 1881 there were ten Kafir wars between the European farmers of the Cape Colony and the Kafir tribes to the east and north. It is difficult to resist the conviction that this long controversy would have long before been settled, and much bloodshed avoided, had it not been for the well-meant but often ill-advised interference of the Home Government with the colonists. Again and again humanitarian sentiment, associated in the colonial mind with Exeter Hall, was aroused in favour of the natives and at the expense of the colonists, who no less deserved sympathy, living as they did in close proximity to these warlike and restless tribes, who were constantly making life and property insecure upon the borders. This distrust of colonial methods of treating natives, and ill-informed dictation as to the terms to be granted to the Kafirs after war, are perhaps never more

Kafir
Wars.

Downing
Street.

marked than in the dispatches of Lord Glenelg in 1836. In this document, which reversed the decision of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor of the Cape, he said, "In the conduct which was pursued towards the Kafir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the colony, through a long series of years, the Kafirs had ample justification for the late war"; and he proceeded to insist that the territory annexed as a security against future raids, and as a set-off to the numerous thefts of cattle, must be reversed. "It rests upon a conquest resulting from a war in which, as far as I am at present enabled to judge, the original justice is on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party."

It would be quite beyond the scope of our present work to examine into the justice of this decision or the evidence on which it is based. Lord Glenelg may or may not have had sufficient proof to justify it. But the point is that such a decision, forced upon colonists at close quarters with savages who had murdered their wives and children, and stolen their cattle, by statesmen living in safety six thousand miles away, must have made them furious with a sense of intolerable tyranny and injustice.

This is one example, out of many, of the working and interaction of the two race problems. About the same time came the abolition of slavery. That abolition might have been acquiesced in by the Boers, but it was accompanied by much blundering in the matter of compensation. The compensation promised was not paid, and what was paid was seriously diminished by the regulations which made it payable in England. These two things—the abolition of slavery and Lord Glenelg's dispatches—led on to that which became an epoch-making event in South African history, viz., the Great Trek, just as, a quarter of a century later, the abolition of slavery led to another and even more momentous secession in the United States of America. We have seen that the Boers had developed a dislike of all State interference; but when that interference took the form of high-handed dictation from a remote, and alien, and unsympathetic Government, and that with regard to the one point on which they were most sensitive, viz., their relations with their formidable native neighbours, it seemed to them that life was not worth living. The depth of feeling which was stirred may be measured by the cost they were

The Great Trek.

willing to pay for freedom, for the Great Trek meant that the emigrant Boers abandoned their farms, lands, houses, and everything that could not be taken with them on the long wagon journey to the wild and unknown north.

Here, again, it must be remembered, we are not attempting a history, but only selecting incidents in the history which illustrate the operation of this perennial controversy between Boer and Briton, and the aggravation of that controversy by the vacillation of English politics.

The British Government of that day was all for the contraction of the expense and responsibility of empire, rather than for its expansion, and they suffered the Boers to go. The trekkers travelled on across the Orange River and across the Vaal, and they poured down over the great wall of the Drakensberg into the well-watered valleys of Natal. But here they encountered the most warlike of all the native races—the Zulus, whose armies had been organized on European methods by Tshaka, and who were now ruled by Dingaan. There followed the murder of Piet Retief at Dingaan's kraal, the massacre of Boers, and their retaliation on the Zulus, which gave its name of "Weeping" to the village of Weenen, in Natal.

'Dingaan's
Day.'

Now came another swing of the pendulum of British politics. The authorities, who could watch with equanimity the disappearance of the Boers, could not rest content when a native conflagration threatened, and there was a fear of the Boers establishing themselves on the sea coast and becoming a maritime people. So England interfered, and sent a small force to assert the dormant claim of Britain to Natal. The pendulum once again swung back, and we left the Boers to establish a Dutch republic which they styled "Natalia." Fresh alarms of native trouble produced fresh interference, and at last led to our final occupation of Natal as a British colony in the year 1842.

The same vacillation which we have traced in Natal marked our policy towards the emigrant Boers elsewhere. They were left to go their way without let or hindrance for many years. Then the policy of interference was again in the ascendant, and a military resident, with a few troops, was sent to Bloemfontein; and in 1848 the whole region from the Orange River to the Vaal was formally annexed. This again roused the Boers, and Bloemfontein was besieged and capitulated. Sir Harry Smith, the Governor

Free State
and Trans-
vaal.

of the Cape, retaliated, and defeated the Boers at Boomplats; but at that moment (1848) the British authorities were considerably embarrassed with native troubles, and finally the Sand River Convention was signed in 1852, by which (with certain limitations) the independence of the Boers north of the Vaal River was recognized. This was followed not long after by similar concessions to the Boers between the Orange River and the Vaal. In spite of the fact that England had ruled them with more or less success for eight years, in spite of representations from the inhabitants of the country, in spite of a motion in the House of Commons, the British authorities signed the Convention of Bloemfontein in 1854, and actually paid a sum of £48,000 to be rid of the trouble of managing the affairs of the district; and the Orange Free State came into existence as an independent republic. Under the wise control of Sir John Brand as President (1865) the affairs of the Free State flourished. But it was otherwise with the more scattered and disorganized Boers beyond the Vaal. By the year 1876, when a war broke out between them and the Kafir chief Sekukuni, their finances were in a state verging on bankruptcy,

and at the same time they were threatened by the still more formidable power of the Zulus under Cetewayo. At this juncture Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent up as British Commissioner to inquire into their affairs, and in his pocket he carried a secret commission, to be used at his discretion, to annex the whole territory in the name of the Queen. After three months' inquiry he decided to use this discretion, and on April 12, 1877, the Transvaal was formally annexed, with the approval of Sir Bartle Frere, and the acquiescence, or, at least, the sullen submission, of the divided Boers. Transvaal annexed.

The story of what followed is too well known to need repetition. All might yet have gone well but for official blundering. The promise of self-government made at annexation was not fulfilled. The selection of a Governor who was something of a martinet, and who added to personal unpopularity the crowning offence to Boer susceptibilities of appearing to have in his veins a strain of black blood, proved a further obstacle to the success of the experiment. And, finally, by the Zulu War, which broke the threatening power of Cetewayo, the chief motive for even the reluctant acquiescence

Majuba
concession.

in annexation was removed. Then came the Boer rising, the siege of the British garrisons in the Transvaal, the failures of the little British force under Sir George Colley at Laing's Nek, Ingogo, and Majuba Hill ; and the final surrender of Mr. Gladstone's Government, which we have always flattered ourselves was the height of magnanimity, but which the Boers have always regarded as the height of weakness.

In 1867 the children of a Boer farmer at Hopetown found a pretty stone, which they kept as a plaything. That plaything was the beginning of a new era in South African history, for it proved to be a diamond ; and, soon after, the greatest diamond mines in the world were opened at Kimberley. The British Government was something like those Boer children. When it annexed the Transvaal in 1877, and gave it back again in 1881, it little knew that it was playing with untold treasures of gold. The discovery of those hidden stores on the Witwatersrand, in 1887, changed the whole face of the country, and introduced a whole world of new complications as between Briton and Boer. Johannesburg became the most populous town in South Africa, and the chief source of revenue

for the Transvaal Government. Into all that followed—the grievances of the Uitlanders, who were taxed but allowed no representation; the Jameson Raid; the ever-increasing armaments of the Boers; the pie-crust promises of the British authorities; the growing impatience of the British in Johannesburg under the increasing exactions and restrictions of the Kruger regime; the last straw added to their burdens by Sir William Butler's treatment of the Reformers; the long negotiations before and after the Bloemfontein Conference; the Ultimatum and the war—into all these we cannot enter.

Great Boer
War.

The cruelty and folly of this long course of vacillation in England's treatment of the fundamental problem of South African politics is to be measured only by the waste of life and treasure which the late great war has caused. How can we wonder that, after so many examples in the past, the Boers should have been convinced that once again the swing of the political pendulum would stop the war or reverse the policy on which it was founded? And who, indeed, can be confident that the pendulum has even yet come to a state of equilibrium?

CHAPTER II

BEGINNINGS OF CHURCH WORK

WE may now pass to our proper subject—the history of the English Church in South Africa, the political history of which, with its race problems, we have rapidly sketched in the preceding chapter.

First
Church
Services.

The first English Church service of which we know was held in Capetown by a naval chaplain of the fleet returning from India on April 20, 1749. And for some time after the first British occupation of the Cape, in 1795, the only services held were conducted by naval and military chaplains. At the second British occupation, in 1806, Mr. Griffiths, the garrison chaplain, seems to have been the only English priest, and to have begun for the first time regular Church services. The cathedral register at the Cape begins with him. For many years services were held by permission in the Dutch church. At this time and for long afterwards (even after the arrival of the first

Bishop) the Governor of the Cape was recognized as "the Ordinary," and no public service could be held but "by permission of His Excellency." In 1819-20, by means of a grant of £50,000 from the Imperial Government, a body of four thousand emigrants was sent out to the Eastern district of the Cape, and from that moment the Society for S.P.G. the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts began its operations in South Africa. The Society entered into arrangements with the Imperial Government, by which the latter was to make an allowance of £100 a year towards the stipend of each clergyman sent out. The Society added another £100, and in 1820 the Rev. W. Wright was appointed to the charge of the emigrants. The Society also voted a sum of £500 towards a church at Capetown, but the local government represented "that such a building was not wanted in Capetown," and the money was therefore diverted to the erection of a church at Grahams-town. The next year we hear of "one of a number of huts," which had been erected as barracks, being "neatly fitted up at the public expense" as a chapel, and on the arrival of Lord Charles Somerset, "being duly transferred, and the solemnization of the Sacraments sanctioned by public

First
Clergy.

authority." The Holy Communion was celebrated in it for the first time on Christmas Day, 1822, and there were sixteen communicants. Mr. Wright also conducted service at Wynberg, a suburb eight miles out of Capetown, and began schools for English, Dutch, and natives. In 1829 we find that there were nine clergymen in Cape Colony. Five of these were Colonial priests, the senior being Mr. Hough. Of the other three, one was a military chaplain, the second was the Astronomer Royal, who had fitted up "a neat little chapel in an unappropriated room of the Observatory," and the third was the Governor's domestic chaplain. For want of clergy many Church people attended Wesleyan or Dutch services. Mr. Hough had no church of his own, and was unable to administer the Holy Communion more than once a quarter "on account of being obliged on every Sacrament Sunday to build an altar after the masters of the (Dutch) church" had left, which altar had to be "pulled down in time for their next service."

More than forty years from the British occupation were to pass before the Church in South Africa received any formal order and organization by having a Bishop of its own. During this long period English Churchmen at the Cape were de-



TABLE MOUNTAIN FROM WYNBERG.
(From a painting by the Author.)

pendent for episcopal ministrations on the casual visits of Indian and other Bishops on the way to and from their dioceses. In 1827 Bishop James, of Calcutta, called at the Cape, and during his visit confirmed some four hundred and fifty candidates in the Dutch church. He also ordained seven priests and two deacons. The only complete church at this time was S. George's, Grahamstown. Two years later his successor, Bishop Turner, spent ten days in Capetown, preaching in the Dutch church, and confirming one hundred and eighty people. In 1832 Bishop Daniel Wilson, of Calcutta, consecrated sites for churches at Rondebosch and Wynberg, confirmed some three hundred persons, and ordained two deacons to the priesthood.

Visits of
Indian
Bishops.

In 1834 S. George's Cathedral was opened for service. It had cost £17,000, and it is characteristic of the time that of this sum £7,000 was "raised in shares of £25 each, bearing interest at six per cent. . . . secured on the pew rents." It was and is a severely plain square building, designed by an officer of the Royal Engineers after classical models, with no pretensions to architectural beauty.¹

¹ A new and stately cathedral of stone is now rapidly rising between the Government Avenue and the old

The next Bishop who visited South Africa was Dr. Corrie, of Madras, in 1835, and in 1843 Bishop Nixon, of Tasmania, called at the Cape and confirmed some hundreds of candidates, and ordained one priest.

Not unnaturally, a church so neglected and so disorganized, dependent on such casual and irregular superintendence, showed little vitality; and the dreary years furnish little that is interesting or inspiring in Church history. Other religious bodies, which were better organized and cared for, went ahead and left the Church lagging far behind, so that when at last a Bishop was appointed, he found much to discourage—little life in the Church, and much leeway to make up.

It was on June 1, 1841, that Archbishop Howley summoned the great meeting of Churchmen which established the Colonial Bishopricks Fund. Mr. Gladstone took a prominent part in that meeting, and became the first treasurer of the new society. Fifty years later he was again the chief speaker at the Society's Jubilee meeting in S. James's Hall. The needs of the Cape were

Colonial
Bishopricks
Fund.

building, the whole of which will eventually be swept away. The first portion of this will, it is hoped, very soon be ready for consecration.



THE LATE BISHOP GRAY.

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among the causes which led to this step, and Miss Burdett-Coutts came forward with great generosity and provided a considerable sum towards the endowment of a Bishopric of Cape-town, as she did also for other new dioceses. But some years more elapsed before a Bishop was appointed for the Cape. In 1846 the Capetown District Committee of the S.P.C.K. petitioned the Colonial Bishopricks Fund for the establishment of a Bishopric of Capetown, and a similar petition was presented by the clergy and laity of the eastern districts of the colony. The fact that it was Mr. Hawkins, the Secretary of the Colonial Bishopricks Fund, who selected the first Bishop and recommended him to the Archbishop, is an indication of how little the Church as a whole as yet concerned itself about her daughter Churches in the colonies.

First
Bishop.

The individual selected was Robert Gray; and, as his personality plays so large a part in the history of the Church in South Africa, it is important to know something of his character and antecedents.

Robert Gray was born in 1809, the son of Bishop Robert Gray, of Bristol. The father had passed through stormy times, for he was Bishop at the

Bishop
Gray.

time of the Bristol riots of 1831. The mob, infuriated by the rejection by the House of Lords of the Reform Bill, burnt the Bishop's palace and attacked his cathedral. The son, who had received an honorary fourth class in the pass examination at Oxford, graduating from University College, was ordained deacon by his father in S. Margaret's, Westminster, in March, 1833, and acted at first as secretary to his father, whose health was failing. In January, 1834, he was ordained to the priesthood by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, by letters dimissory from his father, who died at the end of the year. Soon after Robert Gray became Vicar of Whitworth, Durham. After refusing the living of Hughenden, he was married in 1836 to Miss Myddleton, the daughter of one of the chief land-owners in his parish. Already he showed much interest in the Church abroad by accepting, in 1840, the local secretaryship of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and by the sympathy which he expressed both for the Church of the United States and for efforts which were being made towards closer relations with the Eastern Church. In 1845 he became Vicar of the important parish of Stockton-on-Tees, and in the following year he was appointed Honorary Canon of

Durham Cathedral. These offices, however, he was not destined to hold for long, for in January, 1847, he received a letter from Mr. Hawkins, asking him to allow his name to be put before the Archbishop for the new Bishopric of Capetown. After much hesitation and correspondence he was nominated to this office, and his consecration took place in Westminster Abbey on S. Peter's Day, 1847, when Archbishop Howley and his assistant Bishops also consecrated Bishop Short, of Adelaide, Bishop Tyrrell, of Newcastle, and Bishop Perry, of Melbourne.

Consecra-
tion.

In those days, and for some years after, Colonial Bishops were appointed, like their brethren in England, by Letters Patent from the Crown, the theory being that the Church in the Colonies was part of the Established Church of England, and that Colonial Bishops were suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom they took the oath of canonical obedience. Bishop Gray's Letters Patent, dated June 25, 1847, constituted the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, with the island of S. Helena, a Bishop's See, and appointed Robert Gray, D.D., the first Bishop thereof.

After his consecration the new Bishop spent some busy months in England, speaking at meet-

ings, raising funds for his work, and choosing men to take out. Among the latter were his Archdeacon, Merriman, afterwards Bishop of Grahams-town, the Rev. the Hon. H. Douglas, the Rev. H. Badnall, Mr. Davidson, and others.

The Bishop, with his wife and four children and several of his clergy and workers, sailed in the *Persia* on December 28, 1847. From the very outset the new Bishop found himself in an atmosphere of controversy. For on landing at Madeira his good offices as a peacemaker were called in as between two parties of English Churchmen, one of which adhered to a clergyman called Lowe, who held the Bishop of London's licence, while the other followed a Mr. Brown, who was sent out by Lord Palmerston as chaplain without the Bishop's licence. By private exhortations, and by a sermon in which he was "affected even to tears," the Bishop strove to reconcile the conflicting parties; but he seems to have had little hope that his efforts would prove successful. It is a curious coincidence that Bishop Gray's episcopal work should have begun, even before he had reached his diocese, with this little controversy in Madeira between Church and State, the Ecclesiastical and Civil authority, which was to play so large a part

Madeira
Controv-
ersy.

in his future contentions in the Church in South Africa.

The party landed at the Cape on February 20, 1848. In Sir Harry Smith, the Governor of the day, Bishop Gray found a warm friend. But the prospect that met him on his first introduction was not a cheering one. Politically there were troubles with the Boers on hand, which ended in the battle of Boomplats; ecclesiastically there was much indifference and disorder; and financially the problems were somewhat overwhelming. There was a debt on S. George's Church of £7,500, and he saw at once how many more clergy were urgently needed, with no resources from which to pay them. And mission work among heathen and Mohammedans had to be organized from the beginning.

In July, 1848, we find the Bishop looking out anxiously for the arrival of new members of his staff—Messrs. Newman, Green, and Campbell. Of these, Mr. Green, the future Dean of Maritzburg, whose work, but lately closed, was to extend over more than fifty years, was to accompany him on his first Visitation of the diocese. The description of this first Visitation gives us a vivid idea of the difficulties of those pioneering days. The Bishop

Initial
Difficulties

Dean
Green.

First
Visitation.

started on August 23, 1848, with a wagon and eight horses which cost him £300. Mr. Green, who did not arrive in time to start with the Bishop, followed him the next day. Each day's journey began about 5 a.m., and every halt was "filled up with services; baptizing, confirming, preaching, visiting schools and institutions, fixing sites of churches, and presiding at public meetings with a view to building them." The route followed was along the coast eastwards, by Caledon, Riversdale, Mossel Bay, and Melville, to Port Elizabeth. On October 3rd, his thirty-ninth birthday, Bishop Gray writes from Sunday River: "I have now travelled through my unwieldy diocese near a thousand miles, and I have yet two thousand before me on this Visitation. Since I left Capetown I have met with one English church, but I travelled nine hundred miles before I came to it. . . . but, blessed be GOD! I have been enabled to arrange for eleven churches along the line I have passed over." For these eleven churches Mrs. Gray, who had stayed behind at Capetown, drew the plans and working designs, so that the Bishop wrote, "Sophie is architect to the diocese."

The Visitation, which covered three thousand miles and lasted four months, during which the

Bishop had confirmed nine hundred persons, ended about December 16th, at Stellenbosch, where Mrs. Gray, to the Bishop's surprise and delight, drove out to meet him; and her description of the party and their equipment gives indications of what such journeys involved in those days. "The poor wagon, which looked so smart when they started, was sadly battered, its wheels all tied up with ropes, and sundry patches and stains in all parts of it—the boxes, bags, dressing-cases, clothes, shoes, etc., showing grievous marks of having been in the wars. The Bishop's two new strong tin boxes all battered to pieces; neither would lock; his black patent leather bags worn into holes; his hat, which was new when he started, looked as if he had played football with it for a month—Mr. Green's still worse; and his shoes had a hole in the sole through which you could put a finger." But the Visitation had, so the Bishop wrote, "roused feelings, hopes, and expectations, which had almost died away. I must not disappoint them if I can help it, or suffer them to sink again into listless inactivity."

Hardships
of Travel.

Bishop Gray's first care as Bishop of a diocese which had hitherto had no definite organization

Missionary
Projects.

and superintendence, which had grown up in a casual and haphazard sort of way, was to supply clergy, churches, and parsonages for the English population in all the towns and villages of his diocese. But this was only a part of the vast work which lay before him. He was from the first fully alive to the claims of the native and Malay population of the colony. In his very first sermon he spoke of missions; and, very soon after, he writes, "I have ordered a collection in all churches for the commencement of a Mission Fund to the Kafirs." He was greatly concerned about the Mohammedans, and in March, 1848, he wrote home for a man who might be a missionary to them. The need for such mission work was the more pressing, as Mohammedanism was spreading and aggressive. In the following month the Bishop writes: "There are a very great number of Mohammedans in and around Capetown; their converts are made chiefly from among the liberated Africans, but occasionally also from the ranks of Christians." Accordingly, in writing home, he asks for "a good, sound, discreet, earnest man for the Mohammedans in Capetown." Another project which much concerned him was that of utilizing the

power of the Press. "With a view to give strength and unity of action, courage and information to Churchmen, a newspaper must be started; for the whole Press, from Capetown to Port Natal, is sectarian; and with a representative Government and a hostile Press we should fare badly; at the end of a few months, when we see how it pays, I shall probably write to you about engaging an editor." Education,<sup>Education-
al Plans.</sup> too, was occupying him. As a statesman he was considering every kind of operation by which the cause of CHRIST and His Church could be furthered. Only about two months after his arrival he had conceived a great and daring plan. "One great scheme I have," he writes, "is to buy up the South African College, which is a failure, and has £400 a year from Government. I mean to make a dash at it, though I scarce expect to succeed." A little later he was much encouraged in this plan by the offer of a University man of distinction who seemed just the man for a head master. "GOD has richly comforted me on this day by a letter from Merriman, informing me of Mr. White, a Fellow and Tutor of New College, a first-class man, offering to come out for five years at his own expense. I was just

wanting such a man, and had just broached my scheme about the South African College to the Chief Justice on Saturday last."

Diocesan
College.

His expectations of failure in the plan of buying up the South African College were realized ; but the project of starting a diocesan collegiate school was effected, and within a year it began its operations in quarters adjoining the Bishop's house at Protea, afterwards called Bishop's Court. Mr. White became the head master, and later on the school was removed to larger premises, and became the Diocesan College.

Second
Visitation.

On April 1, 1850, the Bishop started on a second and longer Visitation, which was to include the distant colony of Natal. The hardships and perils of this journey were even greater than those of the former one. On entering Natal, and on leaving it, the party met with serious accidents which might well have resulted in loss of life. The route lay through Bloemfontein and Thaba-Unchu (as they then spelt it). Somewhere between that point and the edge of the Drakensberg, at the house of a Hottentot called "Old Isaac," the Bishop was met by Mr. Green and his future brother-in-law, Mr. Moodie. The meeting cheered Bishop Gray, and the next

day the party proceeded to the dangerous descent of the Drakensberg. That range of mountains, like a sea cliff, descends in many places by sheer crags, quite impassable by wheeled vehicles, to the valleys of Natal. Its highest points are some twelve thousand feet above the sea. It was, of course, at some point lower and less impassable that the Bishop attempted to descend. But even so the pole of ^{its dangers} his wagon was cracked in several places, and it was at considerable risk, and by the aid of *reims* (i.e., straps of raw hide) that the wagon was got to the bottom. After passing the Tugela, the Bushman's Drift, Mooi River and the Howick Falls, they reached Maritzburg, where they spent Whitsuntide. Some weeks were spent there, and many plans laid for mission work among the 100,000 Zulus, refugees from the tyranny of Panda, who then formed the native population of Natal. Bishop Gray and his party then passed down to the coast, to D'Urban, and subsequently paid a visit to the oldest mission stations in the country, those of the American Congregationalists.

The return journey was to be, not across the Drakensberg, but nearer the coast to King-

williamstown. Those who know the deep gorges through which the great rivers of Natal, such as the Umkomazi and the Umzimkulu, flow to the sea—gorges difficult enough to pass even now when good roads have been engineered—can imagine what such a journey must have been for a wagon and eight horses in those days when the roads can have been little better than mountain tracks. After several descents and ascents of the greatest difficulty, in which the Bishop had to go before the horses, leading them by a reim, and almost getting trodden on in the process, they had a serious breakdown in the descent into the Umzimkulu valley. "In our descent," the Bishop says, "we came to some very broken ground. Just as I was offering up thanksgiving for escape from danger I saw my cart roll over. In an instant it was turned completely on its head, quite crushing the tent, and the wheelers were upon their backs, with their feet in the air. Ludwig (the driver) was invisible under the cart." Although they managed to reach their halting-place without injury to any of the party, it would seem that the wagon was ruined, for the Bishop says: "The loss of my cart seems to

Narrow
escapes.

me like the loss of a home. I read in it, wrote in it, slept in it, in fact, lived in it. Now I am without shelter." However, it appears to have been patched up, for the journey continued, and we find the Bishop preaching to the natives, with Mr. Shepstone as interpreter. This, probably, was not Sir Theophilus, but his brother John, who afterwards became Judge of the Native High Court in Maritzburg.

It was this Visitation of Natal that forced home the conviction to the Bishop's mind that he must at once proceed to the division of his unwieldy diocese, and to the appointment of at least two more Bishops. His desire at this time was to hand over the charge of the Cape to some one else, and to undertake the pioneering work of missions in Natal himself. "My plan," he writes, "is to get Archdeacon Grant, or some very able man, for Capetown; and the Archdeacon (Merriman) at Grahamstown, and for me to go to mission work in Natal."

New
Dioceses
projected.

It was this need of subdivision which determined the Bishop to pay a visit to England to bring the matter before the Church at home, and to obtain the men and the necessary funds for the endowment of the two new Bishoprics of Grahams-

town and Natal. In a pastoral letter to the members of the Church in the diocese Bishop Gray explained the objects of this journey as being fourfold: (1) The division of the diocese, (2) the future maintenance of the clergy, (3) missions to the heathen, and (4) the foundation of a college. The Bishop sailed for England on January 3, 1852, and after a Visitation of the Island of S. Helena, which was within his jurisdiction, he landed at Falmouth on March 31st.

Visit to
England.

Bishop Gray's letters and diaries at this time show his unbounded activity while in England, and his constant interviews with all the leading men in Church and State concerning all the difficult problems that the organization of a new colonial diocese and province involved. All this we must pass over, and come to that which was the primary object of his visit—the selection of the two new Bishops. On September 7th he wrote to invite Mr. Armstrong, of Tidenham, to become the first Bishop of Grahamstown; and about the same time he offered the Bishopric of Natal to the Rev. John William Colenso, Rector of Fornsett S. Mary, in Norfolk. Mr. Colenso had had a distinguished career at Cambridge, being Second Wrangler and Second Smith's

Bishop
Colenso.



Photo by

THE LATE BISHOP COLENZO.

Elliott & Fry.

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Prizeman in 1836, and Fellow of S. John's in 1837. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Ely in 1839, being then twenty-five years old, and in the same year became a mathematical master at Harrow. From Harrow he had returned to Cambridge, where, from 1841 to his marriage with Miss Bunyon, he worked as Fellow and Tutor of S. John's. The two new Bishops were consecrated at Lambeth on S. Andrew's Day, 1853, the sermon being preached by Bishop Wilberforce, of Oxford. Bishop Gray now looked forward to the future with brightest hopes. The object of his journey was accomplished, South Africa was to be reinforced by having three centres of spiritual life and activity instead of one, and there seemed to be no hindrance to the Metropolitan's earnest desire to start regular provincial organization by convening Diocesan and Provincial Synods. Bishop Gray and Bishop Colenso sailed in the *Calcutta* on December 14, 1853, and the party landed on January 20, 1854.

After ten weeks' survey of his new diocese and its needs, Bishop Colenso returned home in search of workers, recording his experiences and conclusions in a little book entitled *Ten Weeks in Natal*. The other new Bishop—Armstrong of ^{Bishop} Armstrong

Grahamstown — was destined to a very brief episcopate, for little more than two years after his landing he died suddenly, to the great grief of the Metropolitan.¹

Bishop
Cotterill.

Bishop Armstrong was succeeded by Bishop Cotterill. At first Bishop Gray was distressed and indignant at the appointment, as it seemed to him to be a partisan selection by which an extreme Evangelical was to be forced upon South Africa. That view, however, he very soon came to modify, and found in the new Bishop a congenial and loyal ally.

Univer-
sities'
Mission.

The following year, 1857, we find Bishop Gray again in England. This time his chief anxiety was to promote the formation of a Missionary Association at the Universities which should undertake the support of a new diocese on the Zambesi; and also he desired to obtain the appointment of a Bishop for the Island of S. Helena. Both these objects were accomplished. Mr. Piers Claughton was appointed

Bishop
Claughton.

¹ Bishop Armstrong's widow has just passed to her rest at the great age of ninety-three (May 8th, 1908). It is interesting to note that one of the clergy who accompanied her and her husband to the Cape in 1854 was present at her funeral at Iffley—Canon Mullins, of Grahamstown.

Bishop of S. Helena; and Archdeacon Mackenzie, one of Bishop Colenso's clergy, was selected as first Missionary Bishop for the Zambesi country. His consecration took place on January 1, 1861, in the Cathedral of Cape-town, the Bishops of Natal and S. Helena assisting; the Bishop of Grahamstown was to have been also present, but missed his ship.

Bishop
Mackenzie.

Thus, from an ever-memorable meeting at Cambridge, at which Dr. Livingstone was the chief speaker, began the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, which has just been thanking GOD, in this its year of jubilee, for steady and constant progress, for many thousands of Christian natives, and for its record of saintly and heroic names.

CHAPTER III

THE COLENZO CONTROVERSY

WE now come to events which have made the ecclesiastical history of South Africa at once memorable and tempestuous. Hitherto, in spite of all the difficulties of Bishop Gray's earlier years, we have watched the Cape working out the justification of its title as the "Cape of Good Hope." The creation of the three new dioceses of Grahamstown, Natal, and S. Helena, and the Missionary Bishopric of the Zambesi, the awakening of missionary enthusiasm at the Universities in connection with the latter, the development of educational work in the creation of a diocesan college for the colonists and of a missionary college, at Zonnebloem, for the natives, and the general uplifting of spiritual life and thought, all seemed to promise great things for the future. But suddenly the sky became overcast and storm-clouds gathered, and a long series of theological and legal controversies sadly reaffirmed the ap-

propriateness of the earlier title, "The Cape of Storms."

The very names—Colenso, Gray, Natal—recall to the older generation among us memories of heated and extraordinarily complicated battles. And this complex and tangled dispute was like a game of cross questions and crooked answers, in which each side was unwittingly playing into the hands of its opponent and accomplishing results the very opposite of those which it held most dear. This will become plain if, disregarding for the moment the chronological sequence, we look back on the whole turmoil and try to disentangle the underlying principles which animated the leaders in the conflict and made them at once so determined and so irreconcilable.

One ideal at work was freedom for the Church Two ideals to develop its organization in a new country on primitive and apostolic lines, unimpeded by the civil power and the legal entanglements which seemed to such idealists to encumber the Establishment in England.

Another ideal was freedom of thought and action, so that the essentials of Christianity might be presented to a vigorous and childlike race of heathens in attractive simplicity, stripped of the

elaborate subtleties of dogmatic theology which had puzzled the brains of long generations of controversial divines in the older countries.

So stated it might seem as though there were much kinship between these two ideals of freedom. As a matter of fact, the two came into acute and irreconcilable conflict. For the first ideal involved freedom from the civil power, and the second found in the civil power its great ally. To the one the Civil Courts represented all that was worldly and cold and unsympathetic, to the other they stood for the calm and dispassionate reason restraining the prejudice and passion of fanatics and securing liberty of thought.

Gray and
Colenso.

These were, broadly speaking, the ideals of Gray and Colenso respectively. And yet it was the Privy Council, which Bishop Gray so vigorously denounced as "the masterpiece of Satan for the overthrow of the Faith," which was really accomplishing his ideals by declaring that the Church of South Africa was a voluntary association, in no better case, and in no worse, than other religious bodies, and therefore free to go its own way and work out its own rules. And it was the Privy Council, to which Bishop Colenso so ardently clung, that was undermining his position by

declaring the Letters Patent null and void, and so removing the last shreds of establishment from the Church in South Africa.

It was a strange irony that brought these conflicting ideals into such violent contact within the little Church of South Africa, and a still more perverse fate which embodied them in such hopelessly incompatible personalities as those of Gray and Colenso—the Oxford theologian and the Cambridge mathematician; the one representing the very soul of the Oxford Tractarian Movement and the spirit of Athanasius and the early Councils, the other breathing the Cambridge scientific spirit, which lightly handled these ancient sanctities and was ready to throw them all into the melting-pot of modern criticism.

The
Personal
Equation.

The interest of the controversies with which we have now to deal is partly theological and partly ecclesiastical: that is to say, it concerns particular doctrines, and it also raises the whole question of the constitution of the Church, its legislative bodies, and its judicial tribunals. It is the latter rather than the former, the ecclesiastical rather than the theological question, which will chiefly concern us. And therefore, before we approach the Colenso case, it will be well to notice another

lawsuit which raised the question of the legal position of the Colonial Church.

Long v.
Bishop of
Capetown.

This is the case of Long *v.* Bishop of Capetown. The Bishop, in his plans for the development of the organic life of the Church, had long been very anxious to institute regular diocesan and provincial synods. But the proposed synods were viewed with some uneasiness by certain of the clergy, in the fear that they might circumscribe the limits allowed to the Church by English law. This uneasiness led Mr. Long, the incumbent of the parish of Mowbray, to refuse to give notice of the synod in 1856, and to decline to summon a meeting of parishioners to elect a lay delegate. The Bishop passed over this refusal; but when it was formally repeated in 1860 the Bishop felt that the refusal of clergy to fall into line would stultify his synod, so he took action. Mr. Long was summoned to appear before the Bishop and his assessors. Sentence of three months' suspension (though without loss of stipend) was passed on him, and on his ignoring the sentence he was deprived. Mr. Long appealed to the Supreme Court of the colony, which upheld (Justice Bell, however, dissenting) the Bishop's sentence. There was then an appeal to the Privy

Council. It should, of course, be borne in mind that, in this and all other ecclesiastical cases in South Africa, the Court to which appeal was made was not the Ecclesiastical Committee of the Privy Council, which is the court of final appeal for ecclesiastical suits in England, but the Judicial Committee, which is the Appellate Court to which all appeals go from the Civil Courts of the colonies. The judgement of the Privy Council was startling. It reversed the decision of the Cape Court. It reaffirmed what the Court below had held, that the Bishop's Letters Patent of 1853 conveyed no coercive jurisdiction, inasmuch as they were granted after the Cape Colony had received representative government. When once a colony has been granted representative institutions it is *ultra vires* for the Crown to impose its Letters Patent, as it thereby encroaches on the liberties it has already granted. But, while denying the coercive jurisdiction of the Bishop, the Supreme Court had held that this deficiency was supplied by the voluntary submission which Mr. Long had given to his Bishop when he received his licence and took an oath of canonical obedience. In reviewing that contention the Privy Council made use of momentous words, which have fixed the

Appeal to
Privy
Council.

status of the Colonial Church. "The Church of England," it said, "in places where there is no Church established by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body, in no better and in no worse position; and the members may adopt, as the members of any other communion may adopt, rules for enforcing discipline within their body which will be binding on those who expressly or by implication have assented to them." The decision went on to ask what was implied in Mr. Long's oath of canonical obedience, and it laid down that it implied obedience to things which a Bishop in England could lawfully demand of his clergy. But to require a clergyman to attend a synod, and to give notice to others to attend a synod, which was to make laws for the Church, was beyond what an English Bishop could lawfully demand; and therefore Mr. Long was justified in disobeying the order of the Bishop of Capetown.

The judgement, as it will be readily seen, was important, not so much for its view of the particular question of the lawfulness of synods, as for its *dicta* with regard to the status of the Church in the colonies as a voluntary society in which all discipline must rest on contract on the part of the

clergy to obey the Canons and Constitutions of the Church and to submit to such voluntary tribunals as the Church may create.

We now come to the case of Bishop Colenso. We have already noticed the personal equation which was bound in the course of nature to bring two such minds as those of Gray and Colenso into conflict. And the divergence was even more hopeless, if that were possible, between the Bishop of Natal and his own dean. For some time past that divergence had been growing acute. One of the first points of difference had been the question of the baptism of polygamists, on which Colenso took a more indulgent view than that of his brethren. Another was the constitution of a Church Council, the Bishop of Natal favouring a much larger infusion of laymen than the dean or the Metropolitan, and proposing that clergy and laymen should vote together and not by orders. Another grievance of the Dean of Maritzburg was created by certain expressions of Bishop Colenso about the Eucharist. On this subject, however, the Bishop of Capetown was more liberal than the dean, and advised that Bishop Colenso's words were not beyond the limits of freedom allowed by the Church of England. But the crisis

Bishop
Colenso
and Dean
Green.

came with the publication of Colenso's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. At the first reading of it Bishop Gray foresaw that it would lead to a conflict, that he himself would feel compelled to take steps to check what he regarded as heresy, even if his office of Metropolitan were not promoted, as he felt sure it would be, by Dean Green. An anxious correspondence followed between Bishop Gray and Bishop Wilberforce, of Oxford, as to what steps should be taken. This was in the second half of the year 1861. In November of that year Bishop Gray also wrote to put the matter before the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sumner). And he tells the Bishop of Oxford that Bishop Colenso quite approved of his letter to the Archbishop. In May, 1862, Bishop Gray went to England, Bishop Colenso being about the same time on his way thither. On the voyage the Bishop of Capetown heard for the first time, from a fellow-traveller, of the impending publication of Colenso's work on the Pentateuch.

On the arrival of Bishop Colenso Bishop Gray wrote to him urging him to meet certain English Bishops to discuss the views put forth in his published writings. But in all the overtures of this

early stage in the controversy one feels how inevitably the matter was drifting into open war, because of the impossibility of two such minds seeing things from the other's point of view Bishop Gray, although animated by real Christian sympathy, cannot think or speak of or to Bishop Colenso otherwise than as an erring brother who has to be brought back to the Faith. In other words, Colenso naturally felt that he was already judged—that there was no possibility of open-minded and impartial hearing from Bishop Gray or from those Bishops before whom Bishop Gray wished to bring him. So again, in writing to the Dean of Capetown, who was, as it proved, to be the chief of the prosecuting clergy, the Metropolitan says (speaking of the procedure he proposes to adopt if the matter comes before him judicially), "I will not be bound by the narrow limits, as to the Church's Faith, laid down by Dr. Lushington or the Privy Council. I will not recognize them as an authority as to what are the doctrines which the Church of England allows to be taught. The Privy Council will make itself, if not checked, the *de facto* spiritual head of the Church of England, and of all religious bodies in the colonies." Whatever may be said about the

Bishop
Gray's
view.

Privy Council, Dr. Lushington was the Official Principal of the Court of Arches, and the "narrow limits" which he had laid down in deciding what was the Church's Faith in the recent notorious judgement on *Essays and Reviews* were that he declined to be led into a general discussion of Scripture and antiquity, and stuck to the question of what came within the Thirty-nine Articles, to which the clergy had made their subscription. Here, again, Bishop Colenso had good right to feel that in any trial to which he might be brought by the Bishop of Capetown there was no standard of legality which they would both recognize. The standard by which he claimed to be tried was the legal formularies of the Church of England. The standard which alone would satisfy Bishop Gray was the Catholic Church.

English
Bishops.

Meanwhile, long and stormy discussions took place among the English Bishops who were asked by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for advice as to their line of action towards the Bishop of Natal. Ultimately a resolution proposed by the Bishop of Oxford was carried, to the effect that the Society should "withhold its confidence from the Bishop until he has been cleared from the charges notoriously incurred by him."

A general discussion then followed, in which the Bishop of Capetown announced that he was advised that he could, under his Letters Patent, or by his Metropolitan authority, summon Colenso to appear before him, if his office were promoted, but at the same time appealed to the Bishops of the Church at home not to leave all the burden on the shoulders of the Metropolitan of a small and distant Church, but to pronounce an opinion on the writings of the Bishop of Natal. The difficulty of pronouncing such an opinion, without prejudging the cause which was *ex hypothesi* to come before a judicial tribunal, was sufficiently evident, but the Bishops ultimately passed (by twenty-five votes to four) a resolution proposed by the Bishop of Oxford, viz.: "That we agree after common counsel, under a great scandal, to inhibit. Inhibition of Bishop Colenso. We would not assume the Bishop's guilt, as he has not yet been tried, nor make a charge against him, but assert that there was a great and notorious scandal."

Though there were only four dissentients who formed the minority against this resolution, they were four of the most eminent of the Bishops—Archbishop Thomson of York, Bishop Tait of London, Bishop Thirlwall of S. Davids, and

Bishop Prince Lee of Manchester. At a further Bishops' meeting on February 7, 1863, a letter was drawn up and signed by all but Bishop Thirlwall, calling on Bishop Colenso to resign his see. But seeing that Bishop Colenso's object was, not merely to propound certain views of the Bible and of Inspiration, but to test the right of clergy to hold views, which to him were the truth, without disloyalty to the Church of England, and that his resignation would have been an admission that this question was settled in the negative, it is hardly surprising that he declined to adopt this course.

Articles of
Accusation

Bishop Gray returned to the Cape, landing on April 11, 1863. In the following month formal Articles of Accusation against Bishop Colenso were laid before the Bishop of Capetown by Dean Douglas of Capetown, Archdeacon Merri- man of Grahamstown, and Archdeacon Badnall of George. They were of great length, traversing all Bishop Colenso's published writings. The months which followed were occupied by a Visitation of the diocese, so that it was not till November 17th that the hearing began. Two Bishops of the province sat with the Metropolitan as Assessors, viz., the Bishops of Grahamstown and of the

Orange Free State (Cotterill and Twells). The Trial and Sentence. verbatim report of the proceedings, published as a pamphlet, covers 405 closely-printed pages. Bishop Colenso, who was still in England, instructed a certain Dr. Bleek to appear and hand in a written protest, in which he declined to admit the jurisdiction of the Court, at the same time admitting the publication of the incriminated writings, and denying "that the publication of these passages, or any of them, constitutes any offence against the laws of the United Church of England and Ireland." The judgement of the Bishop of Capetown, following the "opinions" of his assessors, was given on December 14th. After fully entering into the various charges, the Metropolitan pronounced his sentence, which was that Bishop Colenso was deprived of his bishopric and prohibited from the exercise of any divine office within any part of the Metropolitan Province of Capetown. The case ended with a final protest from Dr. Bleek against the legality of the proceedings, and an announcement that the Bishop of Natal intended to appeal, and to resist the execution of the judgement in such ways as he should be advised to be proper.

Bishop Colenso now, acting under such advice,

Privy
Council.

petitioned the Crown to hear his appeal, and the law officers of the Crown advised that his petition should be referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for their consideration. The case came on for hearing on December 14, 1864. Sir Hugh Cairns, Sir Robert Phillimore, and Mr. Badeley appeared for the Metropolitan, and protested against the jurisdiction. Judgement was delivered on March 20, 1865. Here again, then, we have a judgement which is obviously of such momentous consequence with regard to the status of the Church in the Colonies that it is worth while to quote some of its expressions. The Judicial Committee recited at length the clauses of the Letters Patent granted respectively to the Bishop of Capetown and the Bishop of Natal which purported to bestow Metropolitan jurisdiction on the former. It proceeded to show that legislative institutions had been conferred on the Cape Colony by Letters Patent in 1850 (between the date of Bishop Gray's first Letters Patent and that of his second, when the new Dioceses of Grahamstown and Natal were constituted). It then recited the proceedings in the trial of Bishop Colenso before the Bishop of Capetown under his assumed authority as Metropolitan by virtue of

the Letters Patent. "In this state of things" the Judgement. judgement says, "three principal questions arise: (1) Were the Letters Patent of the 8th December, 1853, by which Dr. Gray was appointed Metropolitan . . . valid and good in law? (2) Supposing the ecclesiastical relation of Metropolitan and Suffragan to have been created, was the grant of coercive authority and jurisdiction, expressed by the Letters Patent to be thereby made to the Metropolitan, valid and good in law? (3) Can the oath of canonical obedience taken by the appellant to the Bishop of Capetown, and his consent to accept his see as part of the Metropolitan Province of Capetown, confer any jurisdiction or authority on the Bishop of Capetown by which this sentence of deprivation of the Bishopric of Natal can be supported?"

Then follows the critical point on which the whole case turned. "With respect to the first question, we apprehend it to be clear, upon principle, that after the establishment of an independent Legislature in the settlements of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, there was no power in the Crown by virtue of its prerogative (for those Letters Patent were not granted under the provisions of any statute) to establish a

Metropolitan See or Province, or to create an Ecclesiastical Corporation, whose status, rights, and authority the colony could be required to recognize. After a colony or settlement has received legislative institutions, the Crown (subject to the provisions of any Act of Parliament) stands in the same relation to that colony or settlement as it does to the United Kingdom."

The first question, then, is answered in the negative—the Letters Patent are not good in law. The judgement proceeds: "The same reasoning is, of course, decisive of the second question." Even if the Letters Patent established the personal relation of Metropolitan and Suffragan, they had "no power to confer any jurisdiction or coercive legal authority."

The third question is very summarily dismissed: "The argument must be that both parties being aware that the Bishop of Capetown had no jurisdiction or legal authority as Metropolitan, the appellant agreed to give it to him by voluntary submission. But even if the parties intended to enter into any such agreement (of which, however, we find no trace) it was not legally competent to the Bishop of Natal to give, or to the Bishop of Capetown to accept or exercise, any such jurisdiction."

The conclusion of the whole matter is very short and simple: "Their lordships therefore will humbly report to Her Majesty their judgement and opinion that the proceedings taken by the Bishop of Capetown, and the judgement or sentence pronounced by him against the Bishop of Natal, are null and void in law."

Here was confusion worse confounded. Both Deadlock. parties were started on the down grade, which led inevitably to more hopeless and irreconcilable divergence. The protagonists were both strong men, neither of whom was inclined to do things by halves. Each was quite clear as to the object he had in view. And so began that deadlock which was to last for many years to come. Bishop Gray had already announced, quite clearly, to his friends what his future course was to be. In case Bishop Colenso came back to Natal, he would proceed to excommunicate him and to appoint another Bishop. Bishop Colenso, on the other hand, deemed himself committed to maintain his freedom as a Bishop of the Church of England and therefore, to ignore a judgement such as that delivered at Capetown, which was now shown to have no legal coercive force. The more clerical bodies, such as the Houses of the

A negative
victory.

Convocation of Canterbury, condemned him, the more strong became his motive to assert the liberty which the Civil Courts gave him. And yet his victory was a very partial one. No pronouncement had been obtained one way or the other with regard to his theological views. His writings had never been so much as mentioned before the Privy Council. Their decision gave him merely the empty and negative victory of overthrowing the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan under his Letters Patent, and that through a mere slip of the lawyers in issuing a document which purported to be what it was not. And even that victory was something of a defeat. It had cleared up the point that henceforth there would be no more Letters Patent issued, that the Church was a voluntary society, that it must now proceed to make its own rules to be voluntarily accepted by its members, and so it had cleared the way for Bishop Gray to proceed with his plan of getting a new Bishop appointed without incurring the charge of breaking any law or encroaching on the Royal supremacy.

Seeing that the Privy Council was really, though unwittingly, strengthening Bishop Gray's hands, and delivering him from the Erastianism which

he loathed,¹ it seems strange that he should have deluged it with such fierce torrents of reproach. He speaks of it as the "Dagon of the Privy Council," "The masterpiece of Satan for the overthrow of the Faith." "It is," he says, "through Civil Courts that the world in these days seeks to crush the Church"; "In that body all the enmity of the world against the Church of CHRIST is gathered up and embodied." On the other hand, it was this same Privy Council, which was in reality hastening the emancipation of the Colonial Church, which Bishop Colenso put in the forefront of his confession of Faith on his return to Natal, in November, 1865: "We have made choice," he said, "to be bound by her [the Church of England's] laws, to submit to the decisions of her chief tribunals, to the interpretations that may be put upon her formularies by her Supreme Courts of Appeal."

¹ Indeed, Bishop Gray, in reply to Bishop Tait's inquires (see below), quotes with satisfaction an amendment which had been carried by thirty-one votes to three:—"That . . . this Synod assents to, and accepts, the position assigned to this Church by the judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the appeal case, *Long v. the Bishop of Capetown*, viz., that of a voluntary religious association, not established by law."

Colenso v.
Gladstone.

In the meantime we have another very important judgement to consider. In 1866 Bishop Colenso instituted a suit in Chancery against the Trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund (Mr. Gladstone and others) to recover his stipend. The trustees had withheld it on the ground that the donors of the Fund had given their money on the understanding that the Letters Patent were what they purported to be, and that they had conferred on the Bishops who held them such jurisdiction as English Bishops possessed. But now that the Privy Council had pronounced the Letters Patent to be null and void, and that no such jurisdiction existed, the subscribers felt themselves aggrieved. And, to show this, they produced a letter from Miss Burdett-Coutts, who had been the largest donor. The case came before the Rolls Court, and the Master of the Rolls, Lord Romilly, pronounced judgement on November 6, 1866, in favour of the plaintiff, compelling the trustees to pay the Bishop's stipend. This judgement appeared in some ways to contradict the previous decisions, though the Master of the Rolls attempted to prove that it did not do so. He maintained, at great length, that the Letters Patent were far from being null: that they did,

Lord
Romilly's
Judgement.

in fact, a great deal of what they purported to do, that they did create a Bishop and a diocese, that the only thing which they failed to do was to create a coercive jurisdiction. For this purpose—to enforce the decisions of his Court—his *forum domesticum*—the Bishop must have recourse to the Civil Courts, that if he had recourse to them they would enforce his jurisdiction, and that, therefore his position was none the worse, that he was in every respect a Bishop of the Church of England, and that the Church in the colonies was still part of the Church of England as by law established. Lord Romilly went one step further, and tried to show that the Church in the colony was really in a better position under the new view of the Letters Patent than it would have been had those Letters been all that they purported to be. “In the one case,” he said, “if the Letters Patent effected all that they were originally supposed to effect, the law on the subject would be declared by one prelate of the Church of England with an appeal to another prelate, and possibly finally to the Primate of All England, where the matter would end. In the other case, the law would be declared by a civil tribunal, with an appeal to the Sovereign in

Council, where also the matter would end. The law," he went on to say, "it is important to observe, is and must be the same in both cases, and ought to be similarly administered, and that law is the law of the doctrines and ordinances of the Church of England. The former are fixed and immutable, the latter are equally fixed until altered by statute. This law, whether it be enforced by the ecclesiastical or the civil tribunal, is the same and should receive the same construction, and when ambiguous, the same interpretation."

Now, it is of the utmost importance to consider this *dictum*, both because this judgement, most of all, was considered by Bishop Colenso, and those who shared his view, to be "the Charter of the Colonial Church," and because it seemed to suggest a line of policy for the Church in the colonies which might have, but has not, been adopted.

The line of action it foreshadows is this—the members of the Church of England in the colonies, though pronounced to belong to a voluntary society, may, if they will, renounce their voluntary position, and instead of attempting, as a voluntary society, to legislate in synods, to draw up their Constitution and Canons, to which

all their members are to bind themselves by contract, and to appoint their own tribunals to administer discipline, may bind themselves simply to the laws of the Church of England. On the strength of this mutual contract the Bishop may assume the visitorial powers of an English Bishop for purposes of discipline, with the single exception that whenever the exercise of discipline may be needed, he shall go before the Civil Court and ask for the arm of the law to enforce with civil pains and penalties the decisions he may have arrived at. Now, what would be the position of the Colonial Church if it had accepted this advice? First of all, it would absolutely renounce all right to initiate legislation. Its law must for all time be the law of the Church of England. "Ah, but," it is said by the Master of the Rolls, "that law remains immutable." (Poor cast-iron Church of England!) But even the Master of the Rolls admits an exception. It may be altered by statute. But the Colonial Church has no representation either in the Convocation of the Home Church nor in the Parliament which frames such statutes, and therefore, however widely the circumstances of the Colonial Church may differ, however many may be the new problems calling

for new treatment, the Church in the colony is invited to abandon all power of meeting such new problems and needs by legislation.¹ But, is it true that the law of the Church of England remains immutable even apart from direct legislation? The law of the Church is not merely statute law. It also has its common law, which is based upon decisions of the Courts, and that common law changes inasmuch as decisions vary. The law of the Church is different now from what it was before the famous Lincoln Judgement. How was the change effected? "Fresh light," as it was called, was brought before Archbishop Benson on several points which had been previously decided by the Privy Council, and accordingly he reversed their decisions. Then, what happened? These points came before the Ecclesiastical Committee of the Privy Council on appeal, and, with the arguments of counsel and the judgement of the Archbishop before them, and the advice of the episcopal assessors, the Ecclesiastical Committee accepted the reversal of their own previous decisions, and that reversal became so far the law of the Church. From any such chance of obtaining a modification

Example of
Lincoln
Case.

¹ See Appendix B.

of the law the Colonial Church would have been shut out if it had accepted the specious advice of the Master of the Rolls. It would have had no access to the Ecclesiastical Courts at home where these points might be reopened. It would have had to bring them before the Civil Courts, which would have declined to discuss them, contenting themselves with simply asking what has been the previous decision on this point. Hence the Colonial Church would be doubly bound in fetters of iron, debarred from all legislation either by statute or by the modifications of unreasonable decisions.¹

The importance of this question will be seen when we come to the question of the constitution of the Church of the Province and its famous "third proviso."

Bishop Colenso's return to Natal was promptly followed by the threatened excommunication. This was accompanied by a private letter from Bishop Gray, to which Bishop Colenso replied at great length, setting forth his whole position.

Bishop
Colenso
excom-
municated.

There was now, of course, nothing left for the Metropolitan to do but to find a suitable man willing to take up the difficult and unenviable

¹ See Appendix B.

task of the Bishopric which Bishop Gray had declared to be vacant in Natal. The first suggested name was that of the Rev. F. H. Cox, of Hobart, in Tasmania. When he declined the post, Bishop Gray made great efforts to persuade Mr. Butler, of Wantage (afterwards Dean of Lincoln), to accept the office. For a time it appeared that Mr. Butler would be the Bishop. But ultimately the Archbishop of Canterbury strongly advised him that it was desirable that a man of less marked partisanship would have a better chance of reconciling the divided Church, and Mr. Butler withdrew. A great many others were suggested and sounded, but ultimately Mr. Macrorie, Vicar of Accrington, was selected and undertook the somewhat thankless task.

Bishop
Macrorie.

Then arose a long series of somewhat excited and acrimonious discussions about the place of the new Bishop's consecration. It was one thing to say that the Church of the colony was a voluntary society, and therefore free to make its own arrangements as to the Bishops it appointed and consecrated, but it was quite another thing that such a consecration, which certainly seemed to flaunt the Privy Council, should take place in

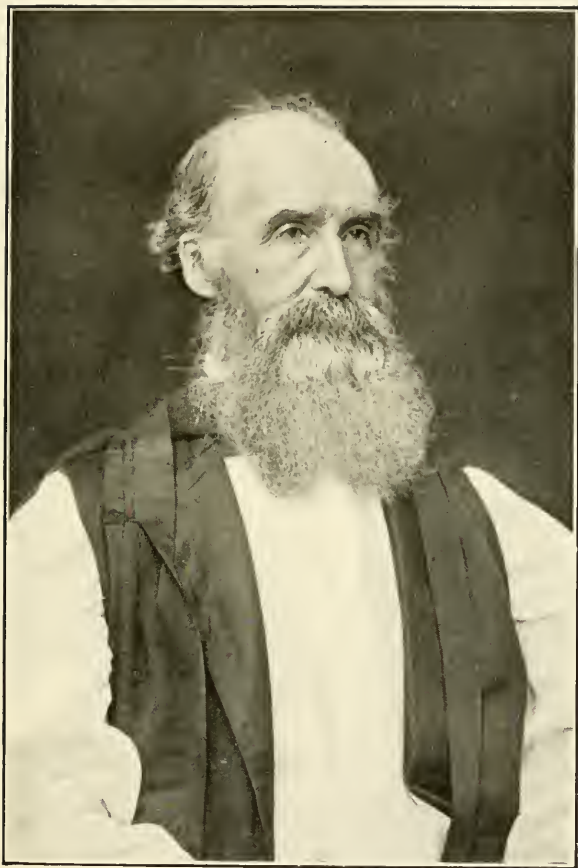


Photo by]

[Russell & Sons.

THE LATE BISHOP MACRORIE.

To face page 80.

England, where a Royal mandate for the consecration was a part of the service in the Prayer Book. Letters and telegrams were flying about as each new place of consecration was suggested and abandoned. And ultimately, after many strenuous efforts to arrange the consecration in this country, Bishop Gray somewhat reluctantly yielded to pressure, and decided to consecrate his new suffragan in his own cathedral at Capetown. The consecration took place there on the Feast of the Conversion of S. Paul, 1869.

The same year saw further litigation. Bishop Colenso applied to the Supreme Court of Natal, to transfer to him the properties of the Church of England in Natal that were vested in Bishop Gray. The Court decided (Judge Connor dissenting) that, inasmuch as Bishop Gray's Letters Patent were dated a short time after those of Bishop Colenso, the trusteeship of Bishop Gray had, in that short interval, lapsed, and the properties had passed to Bishop Colenso as his successor in Natal. This judgement was upheld on appeal by the Privy Council. Further litigation.

The position of Churchmen in Natal under these confusing and conflicting judgements can be imagined to have been one of extreme difficulty and

complexity. Each side had a certain justification. Those who accepted Bishop Macrorie, with varying degrees of warmth, could say, "Whatever the Law Courts may say as to technical flaws in Letters Patent, we accept Bishop Gray as our Metropolitan, and his sentence has for us spiritual authority. We therefore can no longer give allegiance to a Bishop whom he has deprived of his office; and, on the other hand, are bound in conscience to accept the Bishop whom he has consecrated to rule over our Church." Those, on the other hand, who still adhered to Bishop Colenso could say, "Whatever Bishop Colenso's views may be, we are law-abiding Englishmen, and the Crown having pronounced that Bishop Colenso is still the legal Bishop of Natal we cannot refuse to obey him." As a matter of fact these sentiments were expressed, as was not unnatural, in somewhat more vigorous language, and "the contention was so sharp between them" that in more than one case scenes of physical violence took place as to the possession of buildings. Dean Green, ejected from S. Peter's Cathedral, of which he had been Rector, and from his parsonage, set to work to build the new Cathedral of S. Saviour's; and all over the colony Bishop Macrorie had to face

the task of supplying new churches in the place of those which had been handed over to Bishop Colenso.

The next important event in the constitutional history of the Church in South Africa is the Provincial Synod, which was held in 1870. The Church in South Africa had been pronounced, on the highest authority, to be a voluntary association; and it had been pointed out that, whatever discipline might be needed, to secure law and order in that Church, must be based on the voluntary compact of its members to obey the Canons and Constitution as agreed to by the whole body. The first work of the Provincial Synod, therefore, was to draw up in a formal manner the principles of its association—its Constitution—and also the rules for its practical working—its Canons. The first Article of the Constitution stated that “the Church of the Province of South Africa, otherwise known as the Church of England in these parts: first, receives and maintains the Faith of our LORD JESUS CHRIST as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed general Councils; secondly, receives the doctrine, Sacraments, and discipline of CHRIST, as the same are

Provincial
Synod,
1870.

contained and commanded in Holy Scripture, according as the Church of England has set forth the same in its standards of faith and doctrine; and it receives the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to be used, according to the form therein prescribed, in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments and other holy offices; and it accepts the English version of the Holy Scriptures as appointed to be read in churches; and, further, it disclaims for itself the right of altering any of the aforesaid standards of faith and doctrine." Then follows a proviso securing to the Church the right to make alterations which shall be made by the whole Anglican communion, or which are necessitated by special local conditions, and a second providing that any such alterations shall be confirmed by a General Synod of the whole Anglican communion. And then comes the "third proviso," already alluded to, which has been the centre of much controversy. Its terms are, "Provided also, that in the interpretation of the aforesaid standards and formularies the Church of this Province be not held to be bound by the decisions, in questions of faith and doctrine, or in questions of discipline relating to faith or doctrine, other than those of

"Third
Proviso."

its own ecclesiastical tribunals, or of such other tribunal as may be accepted by the Provincial Synod as a Tribunal of Appeal."

It is impossible, within the limits of this brief survey, to trace all the steps of this dreary and bitter controversy, and I shall not therefore attempt to record all the incidents of the conflict which the situation rendered inevitable. But it may make the story more intelligible, and keep together the underlying principles which are of permanent importance, if I add, in the form of an Appendix, a chapter describing the later stages of the Natal controversy, and so enable the reader to understand the position which at present exists.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE Church Controversy has monopolized our attention to a degree which some may consider disproportionate. But the constitutional struggle which lay behind the personal questions will be seen to be of such consequence to the whole Colonial Church as to justify the otherwise disproportionate space allotted to it. It was this controversy which led to the first origination of the Lambeth Conference of Bishops which now takes place every ten years. It is the solution of this vexed question which has been the chief contribution of the South African Province to our modern English Church history. But it is time now to return to the story of Church Expansion in the other dioceses which, along with Capetown and Natal, form the Province of South Africa. Our survey will show that controversy was not the main element of Church



Photo by]

[Elliott & Fry.

THE LATE ARCHBISHOP WEST JONES.

life, but that on every side souls were being cared for, and ground won for CHRIST.

DIOCESE OF CAPETOWN

Of the Diocese of Capetown we have already spoken at some length, but only up to the date of Bishop Gray's death in 1872. The choice of a successor was ultimately delegated by the Elective Body at the Cape, with the consent of the Bishops of the Province, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Edinburgh, and the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The choice fell on the Rev. William West Jones, who has filled the office of Metropolitan of South Africa (under the title, since the Lambeth Conference of 1897, of Archbishop of Capetown) from that day to this. The new Bishop had been successively Scholar and Fellow of S. John's College, Oxford, and afterwards Vicar of Summertown and Rural Dean of Oxford. He was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on May 17, 1874. Some difficulty arose over the question of the oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which the form of Consecration in the Prayer Book demanded. This oath had ceased to be appropriate in the

Arch-
bishop
West
Jones.

case of a Metropolitan after the decisions which have been recorded, making it clear that the Church of the Province was not part of the Church of England as by law established. The difficulty was met by an explanatory document signed by the new Metropolitan as well as by the Archbishop of Canterbury, explaining in what sense the oath was taken and administered. The difficulty was removed not long afterwards by Lord Blachford's Colonial Clergy Act.

The task to which the new Bishop succeeded was no easy one. It is true that the broad foundations of the Church in South Africa had been laid by the Provincial Synod of 1870, and the legal proceedings respecting the Bishopric of Natal were at an end. But the dual Bishopric in that diocese left an unstable equilibrium, and in his own diocese the Metropolitan had three congregations which remained so far aloof from the provincial organization that they sent no lay representative to the Synod, though their clergy attended it. However, a working basis had been obtained, and the new Bishop was able to devote himself to the work of peaceful construction and development, which he did with great devotion and marked success.

The difficulties associated with the mixture of many alien races was acute in the Diocese of Capetown, as, in addition to the many aboriginal races of Africa, there was the large Malay population and the still larger element of half-castes who are known as "coloured people." Writing in 1900, Bishop Gibson gives the number of members of the English Church in the diocese as sixty-three thousand, of which thirty thousand were coloured people. The number given in the *South African Provincial Church Directory for 1908* is "about 100,000," of whom probably half are coloured.

Although, as we have seen, the Church of England was late in the field, while much work had been done in the earlier years of last century among these half-caste people by the Moravians, the Rhenish Missionary Society, the Berlin Mission, and English Nonconformist Missions, the last half of the century showed great activity, and the growth of many vigorous centres of missionary work. Pre-eminent among these stands the work of the late much-loved Arch-deacon Lightfoot at S. Paul's, Capetown. He arrived in the colony in April, 1858, and, from that time until his death on November

"Coloured people."

Arch-deacon Lightfoot.

12, 1904, he continued to give his whole heart to the Cape Malays and the coloured people, and the poor and distressed of every nationality. For nearly half a century his was one of the most conspicuous figures in Capetown. In any visitation of deadly sickness he was the first to minister to those who were stricken down, and in every charitable and philanthropic movement he took a leading part. An interesting sketch of the "Life and Times" of the Archdeacon, by H. P. Barnett-Clarke, has lately been published. In an introductory memoir the Archbishop of Capetown writes:—"It was among the privileges of my life to have known him, and to have felt the power of his influence. He was the most loyal of friends, the most warm-hearted of men, the most faithful of advisers. As a missionary he had but one thought, to win souls for CHRIST. He was the devoted friend of the poor, and his love for little children was really wonderful. The poor in Capetown almost worshipped him." In 1858, and again in 1882, there was a terrible epidemic of small-pox; and in 1867 typhus fever raged among the filthy dens in which some of the coloured people of Capetown lived. In all these epidemics

Archdeacon Lightfoot was untiring and fearless in his devoted ministrations. It was this selfless and unsparing devotion which, perhaps more than anything, won the hearts of the heathen and Mohammedan population to the man himself and to the Creed which inspired him, and which his life and labours preached even more eloquently than his sermons. His name was a household word throughout the province; and, when he died, Capetown, without distinction of creed or race, was moved as it was never moved before. Long before this date the Archdeacon had been reinforced in this work by the Cowley Fathers and others. Before his death, Bishop Gray had written to Father Benson inviting him to make Capetown one of the fields of work for his Community, but it was not till some years later that the invitation was accepted. Father Puller arrived in 1883 to act as chaplain to the All Saints' Sisters, and to help in their numerous charitable works. He soon saw, however, that the Mohammedan work was not one that could be undertaken merely in the spare moments left by other ministries; and accordingly, in 1887, the Rev. W. U. Watkins was sent out by the Society charged with this

Cowley
Fathers.

special commission. He continued for a few years to contend with the immense difficulties of the work, though with small encouragement as far as the number of converts was concerned, but in 1890 he was withdrawn to the still more trying work for lepers and lunatics in Robben Island. In 1896 the Mission was again re-inforced from Cowley by a visit from Father Page and the arrival for more permanent work of Father Waggett, who brought with them a lady doctor, Miss Pellatt. The work of the Cowley Fathers was not, however, confined to the Cape Malays. Father Puller had already begun work among the Kafirs in 1883, and three years later he started a Boarding House in Sir Lowry Road, which he called S. Columba's Home. In 1898 a new S. Columba's Home, which had been built under the direction of Father Waggett, was blessed by the Archbishop of Capetown with his comprovincial Bishops who were present at the Provincial Synod of that year. As the result of training in this home, Father Powell, writing in 1900, records that at that time one hundred and seventy-five men had been baptized after careful preparation. The Home has also been the centre of

much evangelistic work, with preaching stations at Simonstown, Woodstock, Salt River, and Mowbray, and other places. Since the formation of the Kafir Location at Maitland, some few years ago, the native work of the Cowley Fathers, now presided over by Father Bull, is mainly concentrated there. The formation of a separate parish (in place of the former district) of S. Philip's, Capetown, under the Rev. B. Guyer, has set the Fathers free to devote themselves to their Kafir work at Maitland and elsewhere, and gives them leisure for holding Retreats throughout the province.

Prominent among the Church Institutions for Kafirs in the Cape Diocese stands the Native College of Zonnebloem, near Capetown. It was founded, in 1858, primarily for the sons of native chiefs. It has trained not only Kafirs, but Zulus, Basutos, and other tribes; it is doing a great work among the coloured people, as well as the natives.

Most of the work we have mentioned is in Capetown and its neighbourhood, and from the nature of the case Capetown plays a larger part in relation to the whole diocese than is the case with regard to most dioceses and their

cathedral cities ; for not only is the population of the Cape Peninsula very large in comparison with that of the country districts, but the proportion of Dutch to English, which in the country districts is largely in favour of the former, is reversed in the neighbourhood of Capetown, so that in 1900, out of ninety clergy in the diocese fifty-one were working in the Cape Peninsula. But in all the scattered country parishes there is mission work among the native or coloured population going on side by side with that among the whites. Indeed, the special feature of this diocese may be said to be the work that is being carried on among the coloured people. In the large country parishes there are sometimes ten or a dozen out-stations, generally ministered to by coloured or white catechists, with large congregations drawn from the farm labourers, or fishermen, who speak nothing but the "Taal." In other dioceses a similar work is carried on among natives who speak Kafir, Sesuto, or Sechuana. Here the problem is a different one: different as regards race, language, conditions of life, and degrees of civilization; but the life is as truly a missionary life. The foundation of a coloured ministry has just been laid by the

Mission
work.

ordination to the diaconate of Mr. Zeeman, who has for many years done a most valuable work at Malmsbury as catechist and schoolmaster.

The tiny white congregations, consisting sometimes of only half a dozen people, in the back country, have been supplied with the Sacraments for some years by two itinerant priests, who work directly under the Archbishop or his Co-adjutor. In not a few cases Sunday Services are held by licensed laymen.

It is a remarkable fact that the half-century which has elapsed since the consecration of the first Bishop has seen only one change in the occupant of the episcopal throne of Capetown, though during the same period there have been seven Archbishops of Canterbury. In the whole history of the Anglican communion there have been few more memorable episcopates than that of the present Archbishop of Capetown, who, in spite of much physical weakness and suffering, has so devotedly and so effectively ruled his diocese for the space of thirty-three years with the respect and reverence and affection of every Churchman in South Africa.¹

¹ Since this was written and printed the good and much-loved Archbishop has passed to his rest. The end

DIOCESE OF GRAHAMSTOWN

The Diocese of Grahamstown, as we have seen, was formed at the same time as that of Natal. After Bishop Armstrong's short but active episcopate, Bishop Cotterill was appointed in 1856. He found the foundations well and truly laid, by his predecessor, of an immense work among the natives. For this large enterprise the Church

Sir G. Grey. had greatly to thank Sir George Grey, the Governor of the Cape. In New Zealand he had shown his practical sympathy for the Maori,

came suddenly on May 21, 1908. Less than three weeks before he had presided at the Annual Festival of the South African Church in London. At that meeting he spoke gravely as to his health, and said that he was there against his doctor's wishes. But none of us realized how soon the end was to come. The funeral was, most appropriately, at Oxford, which, as Fellow of S. John's, Vicar of Summertown, and Rural Dean, he had loved so well. And it was a happy circumstance that the approaching Pan-Anglican Congress had brought together in England ten (past and present) South African Bishops, all of whom attended the funeral as pall-bearers.

No one could have done the work of a peacemaker in stormy South Africa better than the late Archbishop, for even those most opposed to him in opinion could not but love him for his loving kindness, and reverence him as one for whom spiritual things were the supreme reality, and as one who lived at all times very near to his LORD and Saviour.

and when, on taking up his office in South Africa, he found himself confronted with the constant danger of risings among the unsettled Kafirs upon his borders, he determined that the one thing which could effectively pacify and consolidate the Kafirs on the side of law and order was the spread of earnest missionary and educational work among them. He therefore conceived a vast scheme, in which he invited the co-operation of the Church. It was, as he said, a "bold step" to pledge Imperial funds to the extent of £40,000 per annum in providing schoolmasters, agricultural and industrial teachers, and all necessary apparatus. He appealed to the Church to provide and support the missionary staff. "The Church," he said, "has now an opportunity of retrieving her character, of recovering lost ground. She will greatly embarrass my government if she does not rise to her duty." Bishop Gray warmly responded to this appeal, and backed up the application of his brother of Grahamstown to the Church at home to supply what was needed. "Now, then," he wrote, "is our time or never. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ought for the next few years to back up the Bishop of Grahamstown more

largely than any other Bishop. The work will be done in ten years by us or by others, and Government will pay at least three parts of the expense."

The Society responded by a grant of £1,500, and, with the help of a devoted band of missionaries whose names have become well known—Merriman and Waters, Greenstock and Mullins—four new mission-stations, named after the four Evangelists, were opened. One of the survivors of that devoted group, Canon Mullins, has kindly written his recollections of those far-off days. He writes:—

"Although from the arrival of Bishop Gray in 1848 much and lasting work had been done for the half-castes in the western part of his huge diocese, it was not till its subdivision in 1853 into the Dioceses of Grahamstown and Natal that any steps could be taken by our Church—alas! so often the last in the field—towards the evangelization of the huge masses of Kafirs and Fingoes upon the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. Upon the arrival of Bishop Armstrong, October, 1854, there were only some eighteen clergy, including garrison military chaplains, to minister to the Europeans, and no native work had been at-

Canon
Mullins.

tempted. Upon the immediate frontier of the colony there were after the close of the war of 1850-52 the territories of three semi-independent tribes of Kafirs proper, located upon the western bank of the Great Kei, and also several large locations of Fingoes, who had been of great help to us during the late war. Archdeacon Merriman had done what he could to make preparations for permanent mission work, and a week after Bishop Armstrong landed in his vast diocese, his heart was gladdened by hearing that the work had been started on October 18th, S. Luke's Day. It was, indeed, the day of small things, but before the close of 1855 the following centres had been selected, and missionaries sent to the following tribes:—

“1. The Amandlambi, under Umhala, between King William's Town and the sea: S. Luke's Mission.

“2. The Fingo largest location at Keiskama Hoek, under the mountains: S. Matthew's Mission.

“3. The Amangqika, under the famous Sandilli, our late enemy: S. John's Mission.

“4. The Amagcaleka, under the great chief, Kreli, in the Transkei: S. Mark's Mission.

“Little or no progress was made in the work until these proud and haughty natives had by

their own determined action committed what has aptly been called *national suicide*. In this extraordinary madness but very few of the Fingos joined, but the other three tribes, listening to the voice of the great witch-doctor, Umhlakaza, who was backed up by the orders of the chiefs and amapakati, or counsellors, destroyed all their cattle and goats, and were soon starving. It was early in 1856 that the first rumours of the 'cattle-killing' mania were heard. But as week after week and month after month passed, rumour became fact, and nearly all their vast herds of cattle were slaughtered, and left to rot by the hundred. The crops reaped in 1856 were the heaviest they had reaped for many years, so heavy that the cattle were turned into the fields before the harvest was completed. This corn was duly threshed and put into the corn-pits. But the prophets' orders were that there was to be no ploughing or sowing in the spring (September and October), 1856. The harvested corn was to be taken from the pits and thrown away: no food of any kind grown in 1857 was to be eaten, because on a certain day in February that year all their ancestors and chiefs long dead and gone would rise from their graves rejuvenated, their cattle and goat-pens would be

Cattle
killing
mania.

crammed with numerous herds, and their gardens produce enormous crops spontaneously. They would listen to no persuasions to the contrary. The orders were literally carried out by the majority belonging to the Xosa tribes. By May tens of thousands were starving. Men, women, and children were to be found digging up roots, barking the mimosas, gathering gum, crushing the bones of the cattle they had destroyed, picking up any offal to appease the pangs of hunger. Thousands died in their huts, hundreds fell by the roadside as they endeavoured to make their way into the colony to obtain food. Then it was that the colonists who had so lately suffered so severely from the prolonged war of 1850-52—many losing their all, having had their farm-houses burnt, their cattle and sheep swept off in a night, their brave sons murdered—showed how strongly is implanted in a Christian's heart the gospel of love. Subscriptions were raised, soup kitchens started at given centres, starving children fed and clothed, orphans, unable even to feed themselves from weakness, carefully tended till they gradually recovered or death ended their sufferings.

“It was now that the heathen Kafir first began to listen to the missionary—they were humbled.

The Word so long rejected was at last listened to, and the first small handful of the immense harvest was reaped. Since that date the work has gone on and spread. At times, perhaps for a year or two, little progress had been made—but few souls gathered in. In 1856 the message was sent to the large Tembu tribes, the Dungwanas and Tshashus. In 1859 began that work that is ever growing amongst the Amaqwati and Amangcina tribes to the north, and in 1864 the late Bishop of S. John's, our stalwart vanguard, went to the Mpondomisi.

Transkei.

“So rapidly grew the work that it was found necessary to separate the Transkeian Missions from the Diocese of Grahamstown, and in 1873 the new Missionary Diocese of S. John's, Kaffraria, was inaugurated.

“To the north-east, meanwhile, a start had been made in the large locations of the Herschel district. The first missionary was sent there in 1886. Under GOD'S blessing the work has greatly prospered here, and *‘the little one has become a thousand.’*

Industrial training.

“In 1860 it was decided to start an industrial training school at Grahamstown. The lads who were sent there were at first those who had been rescued from death during the cattle-killing famine.

Others followed from the central mission stations. For many years the supply of native catechists and schoolmasters came from this institution, and some twenty-five native clergy have, in whole or in part, received their education and training here. Since 1874 one marked feature of the work has been the training of carpenters; and the work sent to the Intercolonial Exhibition, London, some years since, and the highly-finished stalls and choir-screen of the Grahamstown Cathedral—the work of these native apprentices—witness to the care with which they have been taught the trade.

“Grahamstown, although for many reasons an excellent centre for a training school, is somewhat far from the now scattered locations, and it was found advisable to strengthen the industrial work and training that has for a long period of years been carried on at S. Matthew’s, Keiskama Hoek. There a large number of boys and girls are being trained as teachers and catechists, and it is hoped that in the near future many may be called and chosen for the native ministry.

“If the Native Church is to grow and prosper in the land it is absolutely indispensable that—

“(a) There should be a well-trained native ministry.

Finance.

"(b) This should be supported entirely by the natives, and no help given from Europeans, at least not from grants made by Missionary Societies.

"(c) All native Christians should be taught from the first to contribute with great regularity to a native ministry fund, and this fund used for the native ministry only, and not for catechists or schoolmasters."

**Other
Mission
centres.**

One of the largest and most successful centres of mission work was, and is, that already mentioned by Canon Mullins—S. Matthew's, Keiskama Hoek. First under the Rev. W. Greenstock, and afterwards under the Rev. C. Taberer, it has educated and converted very large numbers of natives. The mission work in the city of Grahamstown under Canon Mullins has also been greatly blessed from Bishop Cotterill's time down to the present day. In 1863 the Bishop held his first Synod, which was attended by thirty-two clerical and thirty lay members. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel handed over to the diocese the administration of its grant, as recognizing that the Church had reached the stage of full organization and corporate life. But, on the other hand, the Government, which had

been so generous under Sir George Grey, was now withdrawing all support to the mission schools. But, in spite of these hindrances, the work, both among colonists and natives, continued to increase, so that 1,500 baptisms are recorded in a single year at the S.P.G. stations, and Colonial Church members numbered 12,500.

In 1871 Bishop Cotterill was translated to the See of Edinburgh, and Archdeacon Merriman (at that time Dean of Capetown) was nominated as his successor. His consecration took place on S. Luke's Day of that year. Immediately before his consecration the Bishop-elect made a journey of 800 miles "on two small ponies" through Kaffraria to the borders of Natal, to judge for himself as to the needs of the work in that district and the project which was then being discussed of forming the new Diocese of Kaffraria. Bishop Cotterill, in his farewell charge, had foreshadowed the arrangement subsequently concluded, whereby the missions in Kaffraria "would form a link between his old diocese and Edinburgh"; and he added, "I should be thankful if that Church in which I shall be a Bishop should be able to plant and maintain a mission of its own among the Kafir tribes."

Bishop
Merriman.

The result was that the Metropolitan of South Africa entered into immediate negotiation with the Primus of the Scottish Church, who readily promised his countenance and support to the proposal, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in February, 1872, expressed its satisfaction at the arrangement, and pledged itself to recognize and co-operate with a Bishop so accredited by the Scottish Church. So the new Diocese of Kaffraria has been, from its first creation, one of the distinctive spheres of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Bishop Merriman, whose zealous work left a lasting mark upon the Diocese of Grahamstown, died, as the result of a carriage accident, on August 16, 1882; and in the following year Bishop Webb was translated from Bloemfontein to take his place. Under Bishop Webb, Grahamstown became the centre of many most thriving and valuable ecclesiastical institutions. It is, perhaps, more like an English cathedral city than any other South African town. The Sisterhood which he introduced has gradually extended its operations, and, under its saintly and devoted Superior, Mother Cécile, whose recent death has been a loss to the whole Anglican Church, became a recognized centre

Bishop
Webb.

Mother
Cécile.



SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCH RAILWAY MISSION COACH.

To face page 107.

for the training of teachers for the whole colony. The Superintendent of Education at Capetown, though not himself a Churchman, had such confidence in Mother Cécile and her staff that he invited her so to increase her buildings as to be able to undertake this work on a wider scale; and she gave her life to this great undertaking.

Grahamstown also became the centre of another most successful work which is extending every year, and proving more and more its effectiveness. This is the Railway Mission, under the superintendence of the Rev. Douglas Ellison. Its object is primarily to minister to the men employed over the thousands of miles of railway in South Africa, station-masters, gangers, plate-layers, and their families. But it does much more than this. The mission-car is a movable church, which supplies spiritual ministrations to pioneer settlers in new districts where, as yet, there is no church building. It serves to form the nucleus of congregations which, in no long time, are able to build their own church, and furnish themselves with the ministrations of a resident clergyman. The Railway Mission thus occupies new ground. It is the first on the spot. And again and again new parishes have thus been formed through its

Railway
Mission.

pioneering work. It is now no longer a diocesan institution, but forms, in fact, one of the provincial organizations (although its central home is still in Grahamstown), its operations having been extended as far as the Diocese of Pretoria and Mashonaland.

Education. Grahamstown is also a great educational centre. S. Andrew's College for Boys is perhaps the most thriving Church school in South Africa, and has had the training of many of the chief citizens of the Cape Colony. Canon Espin, for many years its venerated warden, was able to boast that, next to Eton, his college had sent more old boys to the front in the late war than any English school. The Girls' High School has also done invaluable work; while the Kafir Institution, under Canon Mullins, has furnished a constant supply of well-trained Christian natives for the ministry and for educational work.

In 1897 Bishop Webb resigned the See of Grahamstown, which he had held for fourteen years, and not long after was appointed to the Deanery of Salisbury, which he held until his death in 1907. His successor was Canon Cornish, at that time Vicar of S. Mary's, Redcliffe, who was consecrated in 1899.

**Bishop
Cornish.**

A difficult problem, in the solution of which Bishop Cornish has taken a leading part, is that of the Ethiopian movement. This was a movement on the part of the natives of South Africa to form a Church exclusively for the black population. Finding that the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States was a distinctively African Church, they formed an alliance with it, and their leader, Mr. Dwâné, went to America and received such Episcopal Orders as that Church could confer. The movement was regarded with some suspicion and much misgiving by the civil authorities, as having a dangerous political tendency. On further study of Church history, Mr. Dwâné and some of his followers became somewhat uneasy and dissatisfied as to their ecclesiastical status, finding that the Methodist Episcopal Church had no claim to historical continuity and Apostolical succession; and they accordingly put themselves into communication with some of the Anglican clergy, as to the possibility of allying themselves with the historic Church of England. After much personal communication with the clergy and a long correspondence with the Archbishop of Capetown, it seemed that they were really in earnest in the

Ethiopian
movement.

matter, and had an intelligent grasp of the whole question ; and at last the Archbishop felt that the time had come to put their petition before the Bishops who assembled in an Episcopal Synod at Grahamstown in 1900. This petition was that they might be received into the Church, but without losing their corporate existence as the "Ethiopian Church." It was pointed out to them by the Bishops that the Church could not recognize an *imperium in imperio*, and that to acquiesce in racial separatism within the Church would be to contradict S. Paul's definition of the Church as knowing no distinction of "Greek or Jew . . . barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free." After much consultation, however, the Bishops formulated a proposal to form within the Church an Ethiopian Order ; and drew up a proposed constitution of such an Order, providing for the instruction of the members of this Ethiopian movement individually, and their reception by Confirmation into the Church, and thereafter for the regulation of the affairs of the Order by a Provincial and a Chapter, and also for the adjustment of the relations of this Order to the Provincial Synod, to the Bishops, and to the existing missions of the Church. This proposal was

explained in detail to the leaders of the movement, and by them to the conference of their own members which was assembled at the same time at Grahamstown to the number of some four hundred. The result was that the proposal was unconditionally accepted, and Mr. Dwâné was confirmed by the Archbishop of Capetown in the presence both of his own followers and of the Bishops.

The Bishop of Grahamstown then took over the superintendence of the work of instructing individually the members of the Ethiopian body, and with the help of funds from the Church at home, and of special missionaries furnished first by the Church of the Province, and afterwards sent out from England, a large number of them were, in due course, confirmed. The negotiations with Mr. Dwâné took place while war was still raging and considerable parts of the country were inaccessible, so that there was no chance of communicating with the "Ethiopians" living in those districts. When, at last, communications were reopened it proved that by no means all his followers were prepared to follow Mr. Dwâné's lead, and some disputes arose. Then, again, as was to be expected, there were difficulties as between

Bishop
Cameron.

the members of this new body and the older mission-stations. Partly owing to these difficulties and partly for other reasons, it has been found best to appoint, for the time being, an English Provincial of the Order in place of Mr. Dwâné; and accordingly the Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown (Dr. Cameron), who had had more than ten years' experience of native life in the Diocese of S. John's, where he was Warden of the college at Umtata, and latterly Provost of the cathedral, and at a later date had spent more than a year (1902-3) in South Africa as Chaplain to the Order of Ethiopia, has now been appointed to the office of Acting-Provincial.

S. Paul's
Hostel.

The Diocese of Grahamstown has rendered another great service to the province in the establishment of a Theological College for Europeans (S. Paul's Hostel). The clergy in the province number about 540: of these some sixty-six are Bântu, but less than thirty are colonial. Of the latter, the Diocese of Capetown claims more than half. It must, of course, be borne in mind that the European Church population throughout South Africa is itself, in reality, very small: but it is also stated on excellent authority that not a few young men have been deterred from offer-

ing themselves for the ministry by the difficulty and expense of the necessary education. This reproach has been largely wiped away by the establishment of S. Paul's Hostel and the generous support given to it by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Theological College was formed in 1902, and has been fortunate in having for its Wardens, first, the late Canon Espin, and now the Rev. E. C. West. During these few years thirteen men (colonial-born, or at least already resident in South Africa) have been ordained, and there are at present ten students in connection with the college.

DIOCESE OF BLOEMFONTEIN

The Diocese of Bloemfontein consists of the Orange River Colony, Griqualand West, Bechuanaland, and Basutoland. It originally formed part of the undivided Diocese of Capetown, and as such we have seen Bishop Gray visiting it in his early journeys. In the year in which the Diocese of Capetown was divided, the Orange River District was handed back to the Dutch and became a republic, known as the Orange Free State. As such it was excluded from the three

Bishop
Twells.

Dioceses of Capetown, Grahamstown, and Natal, and the English settlers had for many years very little spiritual ministrations. In the year 1863 the Diocese of Orange River, as it was at first styled, was formed, and the Rev. E. Twells was consecrated its first Bishop. The Bishop found his diocese in a condition of spiritual destitution, many of the settlers having become Wesleyans or members of the Dutch Church, owing to the neglect of the Church of England. The only English church in the diocese was in ruins, and the Bishop had to accept the hospitality of a Wesleyan chapel in which to preach. The first centres of work were Bloemfontein itself, where a clergyman and a schoolmaster were placed, Fauresmith and Smithfield. From these centres, during the next two years Winburg, Cronstadt, Bethlehem, Harrismith, Reddesberg, and other places were visited, and occasional services were held. Mission work was also started among the natives, and in November, 1866, the first church was consecrated at Bloemfontein, and a house was built for the Bishop, who up to that time had lived as a lodger in a single room.

Basuto
war.

In 1865 came the war between the colonists and the Basutos under their chief, Moshesh. This

war greatly interrupted the mission work among the natives, and inflicted heavy losses on the farmers. In a single day's raid some 70,000 sheep were captured from the district of Smithfield; and the losses of one month were estimated at £200,000. Moshesh was one of the few great leaders whom the native tribes of South Africa have produced. For many years he had preserved his independence and defended the interests of his tribe against all comers with marked success. In the war of 1865 a determined assault was made by the Boer settlers on his hitherto impregnable fortress—a flat-topped mountain called Thaba-Bosigo—but a well-aimed bullet from one of the few rifles of the defenders struck the leader of the storming party, Wepener, when only thirty yards separated the party from victory, and the column faltered and fell back. Moshesh, however, was diplomatist enough to know that his only chance of ultimate escape was to make terms with his white foes, and he cleverly threw himself on the English, and asked that he might henceforth live “under the wide folds of the flag of England.” The High Commissioner received his overtures and intervened, declaring the Basutos to be British subjects, and in 1869 peace was concluded with

the Free State. The result of the war was to remove certain hindrances to mission work by diminishing the power of the chiefs, and that work went steadily forward. Hopeful beginnings had been made among the Griquas at Philipopolis (1863), among the Kafirs at Bloemfontein (1865), and among the Barolong at Thaba 'Nchu. In 1867 the mission work of the Modderpoort Brotherhood was started by Canon Beckett.

Bishop
Webb.

In 1869 Bishop Twells resigned, and Archdeacon Merriman having declined a unanimous call from the diocese, the Rev. A. B. Webb was consecrated to the vacant see on S. Andrew's Day, 1870. In that same year Moshesh, the Basuto chief, died. Before his death he had asked Bishop Gray to send missionaries to his people, and in 1876 two strong centres of missionary work were established in Basutoland. One, in the north, at Thlotse Heights, was placed under the charge of Canon Widdicombe, who for more than thirty years did splendid service there, establishing a handsome stone church, a well-built mission house, and a training school for lads who are preparing to be Church workers, either as school teachers or catechists. The other

station, in the south of Basutoland (Mohale's Hoek), was under the care of the Rev. E. W. Stenson, and afterwards of the Rev. M. A. Reading. Another active centre was founded at Sekubu, thirty miles north of Thlotse Heights, where the Rev. T. Woodman did long and faithful service. The band of well-known Basuto missionaries includes the names of Father Carmichael, Canon Spencer Weigall, and the Rev. J. Deacon; while in Bechuanaland the Church of the Province has been represented for over thirty years by the singularly self-denying life of Canon Bevan.

The Missionary Brotherhood founded by Canon Beckett, and associated so long with the name of Father Douglas, has now for some years given place to the Society of the Sacred Mission.

In 1883 Bishop Webb was translated to Grahamstown, and after a long interregnum, during which the diocese was administered by Archdeacon Croghan, Bishop Knight Bruce was brought from the East End of London to the sunny hills of the Orange Free State, and consecrated as the third Bishop in 1886. The new Bishop was a great traveller. In his own diocese he at once made long rides from parish to parish

Bishop
Knight
Bruce.

and from mission to mission, making up the arrears of Confirmations which three years had caused since his predecessor's departure. He also travelled into unknown parts of Basutoland, being the first Bishop to visit the celebrated Falls of the Malutsuanyane River. A still longer and more arduous pioneering journey was that which he made beyond the limits of his diocese into what was then undiscovered territory in Matabeleland. His interest in this new country led to his translation when the new Bishopric of Mashonaland was founded in 1891. His successor at Bloemfontein was Bishop Hicks, who was well-known as a college tutor at Cambridge, and who supplied to the Episcopate of South Africa a valuable element of scholarship and theological learning. He was also a successful organizer, and did much to introduce into the mission work of the diocese a more effective system of discipline among the native congregations. Latterly, however, his health gave cause for anxiety, and after a visit to Natal in 1899, in which he conducted a Quiet Day for the clergy and preached at the consecration of the new chancel of the cathedral, he died at Maseru almost at the very hour at which President Kruger's

Bishop
Hicks.

“Ultimatum” expired in October of that year. His death was followed by another long interregnum, as the war which was then raging prevented the calling together of the Elective Assembly. During this interval, Bishop Webb revisited the scene of his former labours, and gave valuable help as temporary Bishop of such parts of the diocese as were accessible. At last, in 1901, the Elective Assembly met and appointed the present occupant of the see, Bishop Chandler, whose preparation for South African work was, like that of Bishop Knight Bruce, in the very different surroundings of East London. Bishop Chandler was consecrated in Capetown Cathedral on the Feast of the Purification, 1902.

Bishop
Chandler.

DIOCESE OF S. JOHN'S

The Diocese of S. John's, Kaffraria, was, as we have already seen, founded by the Scottish Church. In December, 1871, the Bishops of South Africa addressed an appeal to the Primus of Scotland and his suffragans. In it they said, “Having heard that it has been the wish of the Scotch Episcopal Church to found a mission to the heathen within, or adjacent to, the territories

Scottish
Church.

of the British Empire, which shall go forth as a distinct mission from that Church . . . we venture to invite the attention of the Bishops of that Church to the great field of South Africa. . . . Within this field there lies a tract of country inhabited by different Kafir tribes, who are, for the most part, wearied out either by continued warfare among themselves, or . . . by a quarter of a century of ineffectual struggle against British rule.

“Our English Church missions across the Kei—now four in number—together with several out-stations held by native teachers, need a closer superintendence than they can now receive; and the invitations given us to extend our missions eastward from these . . . (and bring them) into closer connection with the station newly planted in Adam Kok’s territory from the Natal Diocese, seem to indicate the propriety of trying to establish now what was designed and almost carried into execution some years ago, viz., a Bishopric for Independent Kaffraria. Should the Episcopal Church of Scotland consent to take up the work . . . it would . . . complete the as yet broken chain of the Church’s missions from the extreme west of Cape Colony to Natal and

the regions beyond, stretching up nearly to the Zambesi River."

The Scottish Episcopal Church accordingly invited the co-operation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and an agreement was made that a Board of Missions should be established in Scotland, and that a Bishop and staff of helpers should be provided for Kaffraria. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was to place its missionaries under the Bishop's jurisdiction, and relinquish part of the grant it had hitherto been receiving from the Scottish Church.

The man chosen as the first Bishop was Dr. ^{Bishop} Callaway, who had done a great missionary work in Natal under Bishop Colenso and subsequently under Bishop Macrorie, at Spring Vale and High-flats, with an important outlying station at Clydesdale on the Umzimkulu. Dr. Callaway was a remarkable man who had come to the Church of England from the Society of Friends. His parents had been Church people in humble station in Somersetshire, but he had been brought into contact with the Quakers through his headmaster at Crediton School. He did not long find rest, however, within the Society. In much distress and

unrest of mind he betook himself to medical studies, and in 1841, being then twenty-four years old, he entered S. Bartholomew's Hospital as a student. He never seems, however, to have contemplated medicine as his permanent vocation. He was much influenced by reading Maurice's *Kingdom of CHRIST*, and in 1853, for the first time since his secession, received the Holy Communion in the Church of England; and, on the appointment of Dr. Colenso to the See of Natal in that year, he volunteered for service under him as a missionary. Accordingly he was ordained at Norwich in 1854, and he and his wife sailed for Natal with Bishop Colenso on his return to his diocese from which he had come back after ten weeks of investigation of its needs. Being possessed of fairly ample private means, Dr. Callaway decided to take up a farm on the south side of the Umkomazi River, which was then being offered by the Natal Government on easy terms, and to found a mission station there. The place was called Spring Vale. The buildings, which still remain (though much injured by white ants) still attest the grand scale of Dr. Callaway's operations. His hold on the native flock which he had gathered there was remarkably evidenced

by the fact that when he was called to the Bishopric of Kaffraria about one-third of his people decided to accompany him, leaving their homes and their possessions in order still to be near the "Father" whom they had come to love so much.

The new diocese extended from the Kei River to the Umtamvuna, between the Drakensberg Mountains on the north-west, and the Indian Ocean on the south-east. It contained many native races—the Pondos, Gcalekas, Fingoes, Bacas, Tembus, and Griquas. The Bishop was consecrated in S. Paul's Church, Edinburgh, on All Saints' Day, 1873. Before leaving England he set himself to obtain the needful materials for his new work, and his visions of what was needed included (1) a boys' institution, (2) a girls' school to lead the native Christian girls away from the social surroundings of their heathen life, (3) a printing press, (4) a training college for the native ministry, (5) a cathedral of simple beauty and dignity, (6) a library for the colonists, and (7) a hospital. He sailed for his new diocese in August, 1874, and, after a touching farewell to his friends at Spring Vale, and munificent gifts of property there to the Diocese of Natal, he pitched

Consecra-
tion.

his tent on the S. John's River, which it was decided should give its name to the diocese and its Bishop. Before long, however, it was found more suitable to make Umtata, instead of S. Andrew's in Pondoland East (where his temporary headquarters had been fixed), the centre of the diocese. Here a site was selected, a cottage purchased, and a little iron church brought up from Durban to serve as the pro-cathedral. In 1877 the Bishop's work was sadly interrupted by an outbreak of war with the Gcalekas, during which the little cathedral had to be fortified with a palisade and a trench, and many of the mission stations had for the time to be abandoned. One of the Bishop's cherished schemes was carried into effect at Umtata in 1879, when, in the presence of his Diocesan Synod and of several of the native chiefs, the Bishop laid the foundation-stone of S. John's Theological College for the training of natives for the ministry, or for the work of teaching. Already, in 1877, the first native priest, Masiza, had been ordained, and there were several native deacons at work in the diocese. In 1880 Bishop Callaway was attacked by a stroke of paralysis, involving temporary

loss of sight. This involved a return to England and a period of complete rest in Scotland ; and, although the Bishop was able to return to his diocese full of hope for a renewed period of activity, his health continued to cause anxiety, so that, in 1883, the Rev. Bransby Key, who ^{Bishop Key.} had been engaged in missionary work in the diocese for more than twenty years, was consecrated as Coadjutor Bishop. On the death of Archdeacon Button, who had been throughout the Bishop's right-hand man and personal friend, Bishop Callaway decided that his health demanded a severance from the diocese which he had created and served so well ; and, accordingly, he sent in his resignation to the Metropolitan in June, 1886, and Bishop Bransby Key became the second Bishop of S. John's. Bishop Callaway returned to England, and died in 1890.

The new Bishop found a network of mission-stations where, before the diocese was formed, there were but four. The chief of these were S. Mark's and S. Peter's, at Butterworth, in the south, the former with some thousand communicants, and the latter with 600. The Mission of All Saints, a little further north, had been formed, in 1861, by the Rev. John Gordon ;

S. Alban's, begun originally as an offshoot of All Saints' by the Rev. D. Dodd, had become a separate mission. S. Augustine's Mission to the Mpondomisi was begun in 1865 by Mr. Key, and carried on after 1883 by the Rev. Alan Gibson, who for many years was Bishop Key's right-hand man, and afterwards became Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown. Clydesdale is a Griqua village near the Umzimkulu, where a flourishing mission work was founded by Bishop Callaway, while he was still a missionary in Natal, and managed by Archdeacon Button. S. Stephen's, Matatiela, was begun by the Rev. T. W. Green in 1886 amongst the Basutos in the extreme north-west of the diocese. Umtata, the foundation of which we have already recorded, became the centre of many activities—educational establishments not only for catechists and clergy, but also for boys and for girls, with a hospital and two churches.

During Bishop Key's episcopate a large number of churches was built, some twenty—many of them for white congregations—in stone or other durable material, and many of less solid structure as outposts for native converts, to be replaced in time by permanent churches.

Since the withdrawal of Bishop Callaway from S. Andrew's, the Church had had practically no work in Pondoland, where, however, the Wesleyans had (as they had and have elsewhere) large stations. This part of the country which was the last portion of "Independent Kaffraria" to come under British rule, remaining under its native chiefs till 1894, was a special care to Bishop Key. On the withdrawal of Dr. Johnson from Umtata in 1892, a medical mission was started among the Pondos, which was placed under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Sutton. Through the instrumentality of a well-known trader in those parts—Mr. Strachan—an interview was arranged between the Bishop with these two medical missionaries and the Pondo chief, who promised that he would instruct his people to receive the "abafundisi," or missionaries. The result was the founding of S. Barnabas' Mission in Western Pondoland in 1893, while in East Pondoland another flourishing Mission was conducted by the Rev. P. Hornby. In July, 1900, Bishop Key was travelling through Pondoland, having visited S. Barnabas' Mission and Port S. John's, and was proceeding towards Clydesdale and Kokstad, when he met with an accident through the overturning of a post-cart.

Pondoland
Missions.

The accident did not seem at the time to be very serious, though it injured the Bishop's eye, and he had to abandon his journey and to be nursed for a few days at S. John's. He recovered so far as to hold an Ordination in September, and to return to England: but the injury was more serious than at first appeared, and in January, 1901, it ended fatally. There have been few stronger or humbler men in the South African Church than Bishop Bransby Key, few who have had so little thought of self, and who have worked with such whole-hearted devotion to the missionary cause, and certainly there has been no South African Bishop who has understood the natives as he did. He was succeeded by the present Bishop, Joseph Watkin Williams, who for many years had been chaplain to the Archbishop of Capetown, and in that capacity had been in close touch with all the problems of South African Church history, and knew much of the work of a South African Bishop. His episcopate has already been marked by the building of a dignified cathedral, in memory of Bishop Key, at the consecration of which both the Archbishop of Capetown and the Bishop of Glasgow were present, and by the completion of

Bishop
Williams.

what is probably the finest mission church in the province. The latter is the Church of S. Cuthbert, the station which, since 1883, has been the centre of the old district of S. Augustine's. Here it was that the Brotherhood of S. Cuthbert (founded by the Rev. G. Callaway, whose name is so dear to many natives and Europeans) had its home, until it was merged in the Society of S. John the Evangelist, which, under Father Puller, has been in charge of the mission work in connection with S. Cuthbert's since 1904.

S. John's is notable for its devoted band of colonial clergy. Both Archdeacons (E. L. Coakes and T. Chamberlain) are South Africans, one from Natal, the other from Cape Colony. Canon Waters is the son of one of the most earnest and self-denying missionaries that South Africa ever knew, the late Archdeacon Waters, and his son, again, is a deacon working in the diocese. One of the missionaries in Matabeleland (the Rev. J. W. Lucy) comes also originally from the old S. Augustine's. But it is, perhaps, in the training of native clergy that Umtata has made itself most conspicuous. A third of the whole number in the province are to be found in this diocese; and one, Canon Masiza, who lately passed to his

Colonial
born
clergy.

rest, proved conclusively that it is possible for a native to minister to colonial congregations, and to be loved and respected by those not of his own colour.

DIOCESE OF NATAL

We have already devoted much space to the Church in Natal (in the text and Appendix A), but a word or two may be added on that which has not been mentioned—its work among the natives and Indians. Bishop Callaway's work at Spring Vale and Highflats has been noticed incidentally. The work there has been carried on by many missionaries—in recent years by the Rev. Philip Burges and the Rev. J. G. Chater. Many new out-stations have been started. Further south is the Mission of S. Luke's, where, at Enqabeni, good work has been done by an old missionary, the Rev. P. Turpin. A grass fire destroyed his church and house some years ago, but the disaster proved a blessing in disguise, for a much larger and better church has taken the place of the old one; and the influence of the mission spreads far into the surrounding districts, among the people of the half-caste chief, Tom Fynn, who

is himself a Christian. In Pietermaritzburg itself a considerable work among the natives has been long carried on by the Rev. F. Green, a son of the venerable Dean of Maritzburg. For some time Mr. Green was the Principal of S. Alban's College for natives, which was then in Maritzburg but has now been removed into the country, a few miles from Estcourt, under the charge of Canon Troughton, a son-in-law of Dean Green. The college is quite full. Among the students are natives from the Diocese of Zululand, as well as from Natal itself. They are being trained as catechists and clergy. Attached to S. Alban's, under Canon Troughton's general supervision, a school has recently been opened, called S. Bede's, with a trained master at its head, for the education of native teachers for mission schools. The old College of S. Alban's in Maritzburg is now used as a hostel for native Christians passing through the town or coming in from a distance to attend classes and services. Canon Troughton succeeded a most devoted missionary, Mr. Thompson, who lost his life through fever contracted while making a pioneering expedition with the Bishop of Lebombo. The headquarters of this mission were formerly

Educational centres.

at Enhlonhlweni, about ten miles from Ladysmith. The work there, under Canon Troughton, so outgrew its buildings that the old mission house was left to Miss Cooke and other lady workers who had started a boarding school for girls, and Canon Troughton removed to Riverdale near Estcourt. During the siege of Ladysmith Canon and Mrs. Troughton were practically prisoners, as Enhlonhlweni was in the midst of the Boer lines, between Spearman's Hill and Ladysmith. Miss Cooke's boarding school, at which native girls are trained for domestic service and, when they show sufficient ability, for the work of teaching in mission schools, has now been formally constituted a diocesan institution, and new buildings, badly needed to take the place of the present house of unburnt brick, will be taken in hand as soon as the necessary funds are forthcoming. Enhlonhlweni is in the parish of Ladysmith, and it is in this parish and in the parish of Estcourt that there are some of the strongest centres of missionary work in the Diocese of Natal. In addition to the English clergy who supervise this work, there are engaged upon it the Rev. Walter Mzamo and the Rev. R. Radebe (priests), and the Rev. S.

Mabaso, who is in deacon's Orders. Behind them is an excellent body of native catechists, mostly trained at S. Alban's College. At Bulwer, in the district of Polela, under the Drakensberg, west of Maritzburg, the Rev. B. Markham has long worked among both Basutos and Zulus. In addition to these mission-stations there is work going on in nearly all parishes under the supervision of the incumbent, and in many cases with the assistance of native deacons or catechists. Many of the clergy whose primary duty is to European congregations take the keenest interest in the evangelization of the natives within their parishes. In Durban for many years the Rev. D. Mzamo (for a long time the only native priest in the diocese, though now his son and two other natives have joined him in that Order) worked as Priest-in-charge of S. Faith's under the Vicar of S. Cyprian's. After working for a time among the native Christians at Greytown under the Rev. G. E. Pennington (now Canon), Mr. Mzamo has returned to S. Faith's. This church, though enlarged not long ago by the addition of an aisle, is still too small for the large and earnest congregation, almost entirely composed of men, which crowds it every Sunday.

The lessons learnt at S. Faith's are taken by the natives back with them to their homes in the country, and from time to time strong little centres of missionary work, created by these lay evangelists, have been discovered. A year or two ago the present Bishop started the system of a Superintendent of Native Missions, to act as a sort of native archdeacon, and Canon Burges resigned his parish—the Karkloof—in order to undertake this work. He has lately been appointed to the office of Archdeacon of Maritzburg. His work as Superintendent of Native Missions has produced a more systematic organization of the missionary operations in the diocese, and an increase of interest in the work among the European congregations.

Indian
Missions.

Natal is remarkable for its large Indian population. In the first instance these natives of India came, chiefly from the Madras Presidency, to work as coolies on the sugar plantations. But many more have come since for other work, and there is all over the country a considerable number of Mohammedan traders, who are popularly called "Arabs," but are really natives of Gujarat. Dr. Booth, a medical man, gave up his practice nearly a quarter of a century ago

on purpose to become a medical missionary among these Indians. His headquarters were at Durban, where a mission house and an orphanage and several schools and a dispensary and a little church, dedicated to S. Aidan, were built. For seventeen years Canon Booth did devoted and successful work among these Indians, until, in 1901, he became Dean of Umtata. The work extended to other parts of the colony, and was assisted by several Indian priests and many teachers. The mission is now in the charge of Canon A. H. Smith. S. Aidan's, in Durban, is still the centre of this work, but a college has been built at Sydenham, a suburb of Durban, which has become a centre of strength and hope for this Indian work. For there Christian Indian boys are being trained under an excellent staff to be teachers in the Indian mission schools round Durban, and scattered throughout the colony. At Sydenham, also, a home for Indian orphans is managed by ladies trained and sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In Maritzburg, also, ladies from England have long been engaged in the work, among whom Miss Payne-Smith, a daughter of the late Dean of Canterbury, deserves honourable men-

tion. Two European priests are working in the Indian Mission under Canon Smith—the Rev. A. Beyill Brown and the Rev. A. French. They have as their colleagues two Indian priests, the Rev. S. P. Vedamuttu and the Rev. J. Nullathamby.

DIOCESE OF ZULULAND

Passing on towards the north we come to the Diocese of Zululand, which is now politically part of Natal. The mission work of the Church began here in 1860, when the Rev. R. Robertson was sent by Bishop Colenso and established himself at Kwa Magwaza. We have seen that Bishop Colenso's archdeacon, Charles Mackenzie, became first Bishop of the Universities' Mission at the Zambesi. After his death, however, that work was for the time abandoned, owing to the unhealthy nature of the country; and, instead a Mackenzie Memorial Mission was sent to Zululand. In 1870 Bishop Wilkinson, now Bishop of Northern Europe, was consecrated first Bishop of Zululand. He resigned in 1875, and was succeeded by Bishop Douglas McKenzie. His headquarters were at Isandhlwana, the fatal battlefield of the Zulu War of 1879.

Bishop
Wilkinson.

Bishop D.
McKenzie.



S. AUGUSTINI'S CHURCH, RORKE'S DRIVE.

Mr. C. Johnson, a son of a Natal colonist, had already begun work in these parts. He is now Archdeacon of Zululand, and has a mission-station which, for numbers of converts and workers, and for the size of its central church and the number of its out-stations, is second to none in South Africa. Valuable testimony was borne last year, at the time of the Zulu rising, by Sir Charles Saunders, the Commissioner, to the influence for good which the Mission of S. Augustine's, Rorke's Drift, exercised over the natives.

Bishop McKenzie died in 1890, and was succeeded by Bishop Carter, who came from the Eton Mission in Hackney. For thirteen years he did devoted work among the Zulus, continually making long journeys, and constantly sleeping on the veld or in Zulu huts. In 1903, at the end of the Boer War, he was translated to Pretoria, and one of his clergy, the Rev. W. L. Vyvyan, was consecrated as his successor.

In addition to the work already mentioned at S. Augustine's, Rorke's Drift, there is at Isandhlwana a McKenzie Memorial College for native lads, which for many years was under the care of the Rev. R. B. Davies. This is intended to

supply the diocese with native teachers. Largely owing to a grant of £500 from the Marriott Bequest, through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, large and commodious class-rooms have been added to this college. A five-roomed house has also been built there, the gift of Canon R. B. Davies and his sister, which is now being used by the Bishop as his residence. Several of the students at the college have won Government certificates.

Mission
Stations.

In the year 1903 the great Church of S. Augustine's, Rorke's Drift, was dedicated in the presence of some 2,300 natives and many European residents. It was built largely of stone, and almost entirely by native labour. In the same year a native evangelist, Charles Hlati, who had worked for some years under the Dutch Reformed Church, applied to Archdeacon Johnson, asking that he and his followers, about 1,800 in number, might be received into the Church of England. The Archdeacon approached the Dutch Reformed Church ministers, urging them to provide for these people, but they were unable to do so, having, at that time, no ministers free for the work. Accordingly, Hlati and his people were gradually received into the communion of the

Church, and several congregations of them are now supervised by the Rev. W. H. Hallowes at Kambula, and the Rev. A. Rowand at Utrecht. At Kambula a large farm of 1,500 acres was bought, and a church of stone, as well as a parsonage, has been built there by native labour and Mr. Hallowes' own work ; and within the present year a church of brick, a successor to a wood and iron church, has been built at Utrecht. Land has also been purchased in other parts of the same district, in order to secure a firm footing for the establishment of out-stations from Kambula. Hlati was ordained to the diaconate in 1907.

At Utrecht a handsome stone church for the Europeans has also been built, and towards this the Dutch people and Christians of other denominations gave kindly and generous assistance.

The first Native Conference was held at S. Augustine's in 1904, when 133 native clergy, catechists, and elected delegates from all parts of the diocese discussed many matters relating to Church life, and, amongst other resolutions, one was passed that all adherents should contribute towards the payment of the native catechists and teachers not less than five shillings each male and two shillings each female, annually.

First
Synod.

In the same year the first regular Diocesan Synod was held at Vryheid, with lay representatives as well as clerical.

There is a steady increase in the number of natives ordained to the sacred ministry, and there are at present in the diocese six native priests and three native deacons.

Magistrates have assisted in the laying of foundation-stones—the magistrate of Nqutu at the church at Esilutshane in S. Augustine's district, and the magistrate of Melmoth at the laying, in 1907, of the foundation-stone of new buildings at the boarding-school for native girls at Kwamagwaza. This last-named building is to provide for increased accommodation for the girls, and for their instruction in cookery and laundry work and other useful branches of knowledge.

At Ingwavuma, on the Lebombo Mountain, a fresh beginning of the work was made in 1902, and in the present year a married priest has gone up with his wife to reside in that far-off spot, where there are a large number of natives all along the top of the mountain range.

At Etalaneni, near the Nkandhla magistracy, the two thousand Christians in S. Augustine's district, with some fifteen exceptions, remained loyal to

the Government in a time of great trial when surrounded by rebels.

The industrial work at S. Augustine's of carpentry and stone-cutting is, though on only a small scale at present, of much value, and receives a grant of £50 a year from the Natal Government.

At Annesdale, Inhlwati, a church of stone was built by native labour, and dedicated by Bishop Carter before he left the diocese, in memory of the first English Church missionary in Zululand, the Rev. Robert Robertson, who died at that place, the last station which he founded.

During the past two years farms have been opened up for sugar plantations and other industries on the coast lands, and the Rev. Canon Davies has inaugurated itinerary work amongst them.

Eshowe has much suffered from the recent depression in trade, and the consequent retrenchments of the officials resident there.

The wide prevalence of East Coast fever has almost destroyed the cattle in Zululand, and the outlook is very serious as regards ploughing and crops and transport.

At S. Augustine's, the five thousand Christian natives attached to Archdeacon Roach's mission-

station not only remained absolutely loyal to the Government during the rebellion of 1906, but also in many cases rendered valuable assistance. A Cottage Hospital has been set up, where more than 2,000 patients were treated in the first year, and a ward is also to be built for European patients. A highly-trained nurse, Miss Mallandaine, is in charge of this, and the local doctor provides medical supervision. It is hoped to establish similar hospitals at other stations, as they are of great value, and especially in combating the superstition and ignorance prevalent among the Zulus. Native girls are to be trained in nursing work.

Adjoining the Osutu kraal of Dinuzulu there has been for some years an out-station in the charge of a native catechist, who is preparing for the diaconate: a part of the work superintended by Dr. Walters, of Nongoma.

The diocese has now two Archdeacons, who divide the districts between them.

In 1907 the Christians at Isandhlwana took part in sending one of the native clergy, who had long been ministering among them, first as catechist, and then as deacon and priest, the Rev. O. Nxumalo, as *their* missionary to the Swazies:

the first mission from the Zulus to their former enemies.

The Europeans' contributions towards the stipends of the clergy and for other purposes amount to about £1,000 per annum, and those of the natives to a like sum. There are, roughly speaking, 10,000 Christians of the Church in this diocese, with 157 native helpers, exclusive of the clergy, seventy stations and out-stations, and twenty-six European and native clergy, and twelve European lay workers.

The college at Isandhlwana is staffed with two European clergy, the girls' school at Kwamagwaza with four European ladies.

At most of the magistracies and European townships and settlements services are held at regular intervals, though in some more frequently than in others.

In the Transvaal portion of the diocese a church, for which the native Christians made, freely, 100,000 bricks, has been built at Holy Rood, Endhlozana, by the hands of Canon Mercer and some native workmen. And the Europeans at Piet Retief, Amsterdam, and Hlatikulu support amongst them a priest who serves all those three places.

Swaziland. In Swaziland, which is also within the diocese, there are now two European priests and one native priest; and a wood and iron church, given by Sergeant-Major Vine, of the South African Constabulary, has been built for Europeans at Mbabane; a church for natives has also been built at the same place, the headquarters of Government, in addition to the native churches at other out-stations; and eighty acres have been bought, with a house thereon, at Forbes' Rief, as a centre of future work in that colony.

DIOCESE OF PRETORIA

In the Transvaal, before the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, there were but few English settlers, and the Dutch had, of course, their own church. Church work here was therefore scanty until recent years. In 1864 the recently-appointed Bishop of the Orange Free State paid a visit to the country, and soon after sent a catechist, and later a deacon (the Rev. W. Richardson) to Potchefstroom. In 1870 the Rev. J. H. Wills was appointed to Pretoria. But for many years after this the country depended upon occasional visits of neighbouring Bishops for Confirmation and other episcopal offices.

It was in October, 1877, when the Metropolitan visited the Transvaal, that it was decided to form the country into a separate diocese to be called by the name of the capital—Pretoria. The Bishop ^{Bishop Bousfield.} selected for the post was the Rev. H. B. Bousfield, Vicar of Andover. He was consecrated in England on the Feast of the Purification, 1878, and reached Pretoria on January 7, 1879.

The Bishop arrived in stormy times, as the Zulu War was then in hand, and the end of that year saw a revival of hostilities with the native chief, Sekukuni, who had more than once before given serious trouble ; and this was followed in December, 1880, by the revolt of the Boers and the first Boer War. The result of that war was, of course, to put back the work of the English Church, as many of our countrymen left the Transvaal. Much, however, remained to be done both among the English settlers and among the natives. The Rev. A. Temple, who afterwards became Arch-deacon, was at this time active among the natives of the Potchefstroom district ; and for the English mining population of Johannesburg the Rev. J. T. Darragh was appointed Priest-in-charge, and afterwards Rector of S. Mary's, a post he has held ever since. He has done splendid work for

the Church of CHRIST both before and since the war.

Bishop
Carter.

In 1902 Bishop Bousfield died, and was succeeded by Bishop Carter, translated from Zululand. His coming, which synchronized with the termination of the great Boer War, has been followed by immense strides in the Church work of the diocese. Before the war there had been, beside the Bishop, thirty-two clergy, nearly all of whom had been expelled from the Republic at the outbreak of hostilities. When Bishop Carter took over the charge of the diocese in November, 1902, he found only twenty-six clergy at work. By the end of 1904 there were sixty-one. In that year alone ten fresh districts were provided with resident clergy, ten new churches were built and five enlarged, while two more were started, and two parish halls. There are now seventy-nine clergy (including four Archdeacons) in addition to five Army chaplains and five clergy of the Railway Mission, a great part of whose work lies within the diocese. The expenditure from the Central Fund for last year (apart from the stipends raised by congregations for their clergy) was £11,129, just about half of which was contri-

Finance.

buted directly in subscriptions by individuals and companies, many of the larger firms giving as much as £500 or £600 each, while the total grant from England through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the year was only £1,170, showing that the diocese is in a fair way to becoming self-supporting.

The missionary opportunities of this diocese are unique, for, in addition to the large native population residing in the country, there are large numbers of men of various tribes brought from various quarters to work on the Rand. Excellent work among these has been done by the Community of the Resurrection, whose headquarters are at Mirfield, in Yorkshire. At the urgent request of the Bishop of Pretoria they established a branch house in Johannesburg in 1903, and the members of the Community minister to both whites and natives. The Rev. L. Fuller (one of the members of the Community) has been entrusted by the Bishop with the organization of native work along the reefs in the country districts immediately around it. In the Potchefstroom district the native work has been for some eighteen years past under the care of Archdeacon Roberts. The *Diocesan Report* of four years ago shows that

Native
Missions.

there were then some 3,000 native communicants in the district. In the Pretoria district Canon Farmer has been in charge since 1895, and is assisted by a native priest. Canon Farmer has done a great work in itinerating. The Rev. W. A. Goodwin, a son-in-law of Bishop Bransby Key, after rendering invaluable service both in the S. John's Diocese, and as Principal of S. Alban's native College, in Pietermaritzburg, is now doing good work among natives under the Bishop of Pretoria.

Other
agencies.

The educational work of the Wantage Sisters at Pretoria and of the East Grinstead Sisters at Rosettenville is a valuable addition to the resources of the diocese. Many familiar English institutions, such as the Girls' Friendly Society, the Mothers' Union, and the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society have found their way to the Transvaal. The diocese now boasts its own Lay Readers' Association, in addition to many branches of the Church of England Men's Society.

DIOCESE OF MASHONALAND

Passing further north we come to the Diocese of Mashonaland. This country came under British influence in 1888, when Mr. Rhodes

obtained a concession from Lobengula, King of Matabeleland. The following year the British South Africa Company was formed under Royal Charter, and a pioneer expedition started under Col. Pennefather, with two hundred Europeans and one hundred and fifty natives, to open up the country and construct roads. The peaceful occupation of the country was, however, soon interrupted by war. First a dispute arose with the Matabele, which was brought to a successful termination in the short space of five weeks, in October and November, 1893, during which the King Lobengula died of smallpox. Then two and a half years later—in the spring of 1896—a rising took place among the same people, owing to the removal of the police force in connection with the Jameson Raid. This rising was subdued by August, but not before one hundred and forty-one Europeans had been massacred. Finally, a further revolt took place among the Mashonas, involving a more serious war, which lasted more than a year, and in which the regular army had to be called in.

Matabele
war.

This rising furnished a remarkable example of what is at once our weakness and our strength in dealing with native races—our extraordinary capa-

Mashona
rising.

city for trusting them. On the whole, it is that trust that is the secret of our power to govern and win them. But occasionally it is misplaced. It was so in this instance. No sooner had we conquered the warlike and independent Matabele than we assumed that they were to be at once and for ever our firm friends and faithful subjects. Englishmen settled down among them in widely scattered and lonely farms, people travelled about the country without arms or escort, and, with almost reckless confidence, Dr. Jameson withdrew the Matabeleland mounted police, in November, 1895, to Pitsani, in Southern Bechuanaland, in view of the rising in Johannesburg. This confidence in the peaceable intentions of the inhabitants of Matabeleland had, no doubt, a certain justification. The more warlike Matabele had been killed or driven across the Zambesi. Many of those who were left were sincerely relieved from the perpetual fear of Lobengula's tyranny. They expressed this relief to Dr. Jameson by saying, "Now we can sleep." And the other inhabitants of the country—the Mashonas and Makalakas—were regarded as so unwarlike as to be a negligible quantity. But as against these grounds of confidence there were serious reasons,

as we can now see, for uneasiness. The natives had grievances for which there was some justification. They disliked the hut tax, which is a regular part of our native policy. (It is considered the best method of taxing luxuries, as each wife has a hut to herself, and only the wealthier natives can afford many wives). The perennial grievance as to land was also a factor in the case, as farms were at once taken up, and it was obvious that this policy would in time lead to the confinement of the old inhabitants within narrower limits, or else their exploitation as labourers by the new occupiers of the land on which they were living. It happened, also, to add to the unrest, that there was at that time a bad outbreak of rinderpest. The Government, in order to arrest the disease, had in many cases to order the destruction of healthy animals in infected areas. This was naturally hard for the people to understand, and led to the idea that the white man was set upon their ruin. No wonder, then, that when there came the withdrawal of the ordinary police force of the country, and, following this, the report of their defeat by the Boers, the Matabele thought that the time had come for them to reassert their independence and to drive out the encroaching white men.

Bishop
Knight
Bruce.

Church work in Mashonaland was planned in 1874, when funds were provided through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for an expedition under the Rev. W. Greenstock. Owing, however, to the death of his companion at Durban, the expedition had for the time to be abandoned. The actual beginning of work dates from the pioneer expedition of Bishop Knight Bruce, in 1888, which we have already mentioned. This notable journey marked him out as the most suitable man to be appointed the first Bishop of Mashonaland, and to this office he was translated in 1891. His work at first was among the natives of Mashonaland. Matabeleland he left to the care of the London Missionary Society, which he found in full activity there.

The termination of the little war of 1893, however, changed the aspect of affairs. It brought many English settlers into the country, so that the Church was called to minister to her own members; and Bulawayo, which had been Lobengula's kraal, became the European capital of Matabeleland and the chief centre of the Church's work there. In 1894 Bishop Knight Bruce broke down in health, and was warned by his doctors that it was imperative that he should return to England.

He died two years later as Vicar of Bovey Tracey. His successor was William Thomas Gaul, then ^{Bishop} Archdeacon of Kimberley. Under his energetic guidance the work of the Church rapidly increased among both natives and Europeans. The Bishop's experience among the mining population at Kimberley, many of whom he met again in Rhodesia, and his own hearty and exuberant personality, made him just the man for the pioneering work among Mr. Rhodes' young men who began to flock into the new territories.

Foremost among the new enterprises was the creation of a native college near the town of Umtali, as a memorial to Bishop Knight Bruce, which was liberally supported by the Home Church through both the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and superintended by the Rev. D. R. Pelly. This College of S. Augustine, near Penhalonga, which has now for some years had as its head the Rev. E. H. Etheridge, who is supported by a very efficient band of colleagues (two of whom, the Rev. R. Alexander and Brother Sherwin Smith, may truly be said to have borne the burden and heat of the day), seems to be in a fair

Bishop
Gaul.

Educational
work.

way to solve the difficult problem of native education. While all the morning (after the morning services) is spent in school, the whole of the afternoon is spent in manual labour, in which is included gardening, agricultural work, and building. In spite of the fees charged, there are applications from many more students than the college can accommodate; and the raising of fees does not in the least check the flow of applicants. At S. Monica's, on the same beautiful estate, there is a flourishing school for girls and women, under the charge of Mother Annie, and two other ladies. Native schools were also established in all the towns, and a native church built, mostly by the people themselves, at Buluwayo; while the white people are ministered to at Salisbury, Umtali, Buluwayo, Gwelo, Selukwe, Victoria, and Francistown. At Salisbury there is a pro-cathedral, and at all the other centres there are churches—that at Selukwe, however, is only just begun. The work north of the Zambesi has been carried on by the Archdeacon of Matabeleland (the Ven. F. H. Beavan).

Native
centres.

The chief centres of native work are (*a*) in Mashonaland—1, S. Augustine's, Penhalonga, where there is an industrial school for boys, num-

bering at present about 170, and an industrial boarding school for girls (S. Monica's), with about eighty. There are also four out-stations at this mission. 2, Rusape, with S. Faith's Mission, and the Mission of the Epiphany, and several out-stations. Two lady workers are engaged at this station with its day schools. 3, All Saints', Wreningham, with a boarding school for about thirty scholars, and out-stations. 4, Mission of the Transfiguration, at Victoria. 5, S. Mary's, Hunyani. 6, S. Bernard's, Mangwendi. There are also native churches in the towns of Salisbury and Umtali. (*b*), In Matabeleland—1, S. Columba's, Buluwayo. 2, the Industrial Mission of S. Aidan, at Bembezi; and 3, S. Matthew's, Umguza. There are now, beside the Bishop, twenty clergy, including two Archdeacons, working in the diocese, beside a considerable number of native catechists and teachers. Archdeacon Upcher has been in the diocese since 1892, and has proved himself an ideal missionary, full of zeal, and ready to turn his hand to anything: no man is so well known or loved throughout Rhodesia. Archdeacon Beavan, who came into the diocese in 1903, has made it his special work to follow up the isolated white man; and he has succeeded in keeping in

touch with our fellow-countrymen in North-West Rhodesia so thoroughly that when the new diocese, which the province, thanks to the generosity and labours of Bishop T. E. Wilkinson, has in contemplation there, is formed, there will be found a nucleus of Church work ready to hand.

At the beginning of 1907 it had become plain that Bishop Gaul, like his predecessor, had made overdrafts upon his strength, and that, if his life was to be continued, he must give up the work he loved so well. His resignation was accepted by the Bishops of the Province, and, after an unsuccessful attempt to persuade Bishop Campbell of Glasgow to accept the post of Bishop of Mashonaland (to which he was much drawn by his South African experiences in connection with the Mission of Help sent out from England in 1904), a successor was found in the person of the Rev. E. N. Powell, Vicar of S. Stephen's, Upton Park, E., who was consecrated in Capetown on S. Matthias' Day, 1908.

Bishop
Powell.

DIocese OF LEBOMBO

At the beginning of 1891 the South African Bishops decided that the time had come for the formation of a new diocese, to be called Lebombo,

from the Lebombo range of mountains, consisting of the districts around Delagoa Bay—Lourenco Marques and Inhambane, in Portuguese territory—and South Gazaland with Lydenberg and Zoutspanberg, in the Transvaal. This country, though nominally in the Diocese of Zululand, had been hardly touched by Church work. In 1881 Bishop McKenzie of Zululand had paid a visit to Delagoa Bay, and had secured a site for mission premises, but he was unable to prosecute the plan further till 1889, when he paid another visit. His account of what he found there is depressing:—"No one anxious for Communion," "Europeans and natives alike much addicted to drink," and "the Name of GOD only heard in oaths." Bishop McKenzie's death again delayed the plans for mission work in this country; but on All Saints' Day, 1893, the Rev. William Edmund Smyth, then a missionary in Zululand, was consecrated in Grahamstown Cathedral as first Bishop of the new diocese. It was slow and uphill work, and for some years, the Bishop plodded on almost alone. Of late years, however, the progress of the diocese has been marked and fairly rapid. There are now, beside the Bishop, an archdeacon and eleven

Bishop
McKenzie.

Bishop
Smyth.

clergy, twenty-five native catechists and teachers and other workers, and fourteen English lay workers.

A good work is being done at S. Christopher's College, founded in 1901, where some twelve native students are being trained for the work of the ministry in the diocese. Three of these have already been appointed sub-deacons. One of the special difficulties which has to be faced in this diocese lies in the number of languages which must be learned, owing to the variety of tribes among which work is being carried on. Fortunately the Bishop is not only a devoted missionary but also a man of linguistic gifts.

DIOCESE OF S. HELENA

We have incidentally mentioned the island of S. Helena, which, though remote from South Africa, forms part of the Ecclesiastical Province. The history of Church work there goes much further back than that of most of the other parts of the Province. As early as 1704 we find the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel allowing a grant of £5 for small tracts for the Rev. Charles Masham, "a minister sent to S. Helena by the East India Company,"

and two years later a further grant was made him. The island, however, does not appear again in the Society's records for more than a century. On Bishop Gray's appointment to Capetown he sent the Rev. W. Bousfield to join the Rev. R. Kempthorne, who, up to that time, seems to have been the only clergyman, besides a military chaplain, to minister to a population which was then estimated at 5,000. Bishop Gray, who visited the island on his voyage to England, gives a grim account of the cargoes of liberated slaves which our Navy was at that time constantly discharging on to the island. It roused a deep and earnest determination in the Bishop's heart to prosecute missionary work among them. In 1859 he succeeded in getting a Bishopric established for S. Helena, with the Islands of Ascension and Tristan da Cunha; and Dr. Piers C. Claughton was consecrated as the first Bishop, in Westminster Abbey, on Whitsunday of that year. His episcopate was, however, a short one, as in 1862 he was translated to Colombo.

His successor was the Ven. T. E. Welby, then Archdeacon of George in the Diocese of Capetown, who served the Church in the island for

Bishop
Claughton.

Bishop
Welby.

Bishop
Holmes.

Bishop
Holbech.

the long term of thirty-seven years. He died in 1899, and was succeeded by Dean Holmes of Grahamstown in 1899. Bishop Holmes only lived a few years after his consecration, and was followed by Bishop Holbech, who had been Dean of Bloemfontein. In 1865 the population of S. Helena was 7,000; but the diversion of trade, owing to the opening of the Suez Canal, has greatly changed the position and prospects of the island. Much poverty was caused by the loss of the ocean trade, and in a few years the population had fallen, by emigration and other causes, to one half its former number, viz., 3,500.

Only a small proportion of the inhabitants are of European birth, the greater part of the islanders being coloured people of mixed race, their forefathers having been brought there either as servants of the East India Company or as slaves. The island is divided into three parishes, each with its own clergyman, the cathedral being in the centre of the island.

Aided by the Rebecca Hussey Charity for the education of the children of released slaves, the Church has done much for education in S. Helena, and now has six schools under its care.

This diocese has the honour of possessing one of the most isolated cures of souls imaginable: the island of Tristan da Cunha, now, for the third time, occupied by a resident priest, the Rev. J. G. Barrow.

The island of Ascension is held by a naval garrison, for whom the Admiralty long ago built a church, which was consecrated by Bishop Claughton.

DIocese OF WALFISH BAY

In 1901 and 1903 the Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown, Dr. Gibson, whose devoted work as a missionary in the Diocese of S. John's has been mentioned, having learnt that no provision was made by the English Church for her members south of the Congo, made two long journeys, lasting several months, through German South-West Africa and a portion of Portuguese West Africa, with the view of supplying ministrations to the scattered Church people, and also of seeing what openings there were in those regions for missionary work on the part of the Church of the Province. The expenses of the first journey were defrayed almost entirely by the people visited; for the second, a liberal grant was made by the

Bishop
Gibson.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1906, having been ordered to rest for at least two, if not three, years, the Bishop resigned his post, and was succeeded by his old friend, Dr. Cameron, of whom mention has already been made. Under Bishop Cameron's fostering care the difficulties which were only to be expected in connection with such a movement as that which resulted in the Order of Ethiopia have been very largely smoothed away.

Early in 1907, the South African Bishops in Synod requested Bishop Gibson to accept the office of Missionary Bishop for Walfish Bay (which he had already visited some four times) and the neighbouring parts with which his journeys had made him familiar. It is the sincere hope of all his friends that his health may allow of his taking up the work thus allotted to him, but for the present the Bishop remains under doctor's orders in Europe, and the office is of the nature of a titular one—*in partibus infidelium*.

It is, perhaps, worthy of notice that, although no colonial man has yet become a Bishop in South Africa, of the twelve Bishops now belonging to the Province no less than eight had been working in the country at some time or other before they

were raised to the episcopate. Two, it is true, had returned to England, but six were actually on the staff of South African priests at the time of their election or appointment.

THE MISSION OF HELP

An enterprise which has been of the greatest importance and profit to the South African Church, and which, on the scale on which it was carried out, is unique in the history of the Anglican communion, remains to be recorded. This is the movement which received the name of the "Mission of Help" sent out by the Mother Church in the year 1904. The idea of such a mission had been germinating for many years. Its first inception is to be traced to a visit which Bishop Wilkinson (who had just resigned the Bishopric of Truro) paid to the Cape in 1892, and to conversations which he then had with his hosts, Sir Henry and Lady Loch. The idea of a general mission had been mentioned in the Provincial Synod of 1898, and the matter was left in the hands of the Bishops. The Bishops met in an Episcopal Synod in August, 1900, when a letter from Bishop G. H. Wilkinson was read asking whether an effort to send out a considerable body of English clergy

would meet with the approval of the South African Church. Canon Gore (as he then was) was also associated with the proposal. It was suggested that, when the unhappy war which was still raging should come to an end, the moment might be opportune for making a great united effort to deepen and perpetuate the graver thoughts which the sufferings of the war had aroused, and to preach the gospel of national righteousness and reconciliation. The offer was warmly accepted by the Bishops in Synod. A committee was then formed to take the matter in hand, and the first step decided on was to send out a pioneer expedition in 1902, to survey the ground, and ascertain the feelings and needs of the several Dioceses of South Africa. The Rev. V. S. S. Coles, Librarian of the Pusey House at Oxford, the Rev. J. Hamlet, Vicar of Barrington, and the Rev. L. Sladen, Vicar of Selly Oak, formed the first band, charged to visit the Dioceses of Grahams-town, Bloemfontein, and S. John's, Kaffraria. They were followed by Bishop Hornby (now of Nassau), the Rev. M. B. Furse (now Archdeacon of Johannesburg), and the Rev. J. P. Maud (now Vicar of S. Mary's, Redcliffe), who went to Cape-town, Natal, Zululand, Pretoria, Lebombo, and

Mashonaland. This Pioneer Mission did great things in the way of enlisting the interest and eager expectation of the colonists with regard to the larger mission which was to follow, and it brought back a most valuable report as to the needs of the Church of the Province.

After what has been recorded in the foregoing chapters, the truth and importance of the following words in this report will be realized: "It is no disparagement to say that the Church of the Province of South Africa has of necessity been largely engaged in evolving her system of external organization." What was now needed was a fuller sense of the end to which all outward machinery was the means—a fuller outpouring of the Spirit within the Body. And the report, with a fine sense of proportion, added:—"It should now be indisputably seen that the Church's campaign is simply one for *righteousness*." And the report also gave evidence of an equally fine sense of proportion on the part of the colonists in the way in which the mission was received. "It was wondrously cheering to find the universal admission that the most solid asset in the State is *character*, and its most valued product the lives of its people."

Their Report.

Second
Prepara-
tory
Mission.

A second preparatory visit was paid in the following year by the Bishop of S. Andrews, Canon Scott Holland, and Provost Campbell (now Bishop of Glasgow). The object of this mission was less to acquire information than to definitely prepare the minds of Church people in South Africa for the arrival of the full band of missionaries in the following year. On their return an interesting conference took place in the Jerusalem Chamber between the missionaries and the pioneers and the members of the committee, many of whom had already had experience of South African conditions of life and of the special problems of its Church.

The
Missioners.

The actual mission consisted of a body of thirty-six Bishops and clergy. They were divided into two groups. The first of these was assigned to the Dioceses of Capetown, Grahamstown, Natal, S. John's, and Zululand. Its leaders were the Bishops of Gibraltar and Burnley (now Bishop of Southwell). The second group was to go to the Dioceses of Pretoria, Bloemfontein, and Mashonaland, and was to be under the charge of the Rev. C. T. Abraham, Vicar of Bakewell. The first detachment, seventeen in number, sailed on April 7, 1904. The rest of the missionaries

followed at intervals, some of them having volunteered for six months and others for shorter periods.

The enterprise was, naturally, a very costly one. Finances. But the expenses were more than met by the splendid efforts of an influential band of ladies, headed by Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, who, under the inspiring lead of the Bishop of S. Andrews, organized the work of collecting funds throughout the English dioceses.

The results of the mission are everywhere de- Results. scribed as surpassing the most sanguine expectations. This remarkable manifestation of the care of the Mother Church for her South African daughter seems to have deeply struck the imagination of the colonists, and everywhere the missionaries were met by large and expectant congregations. People undertook long and toilsome journeys in order to be present at the services, and many who had drifted away from all spiritual influences seem to have been reached and profoundly affected. There is every reason to believe that the enthusiastic response which the mission evoked was something more than the mere excitement and emotion of unusual services and famous preachers, and that in a large number of cases the results have been

true and lasting. The last service of the mission was held in the Cathedral of Capetown on October 25th; and on November 15th a great thanksgiving service was held in S. Paul's Cathedral. The sermon was to have been preached by the Bishop of S. Andrews, who had been throughout the inspiring and sustaining force behind the mission, as he had been its original projector. Ill-health, however, prevented him, and his place was filled by Canon Scott Holland, who, after the Bishop, had done as much as any one to make the mission a success. Now that Bishop Wilkinson's work on earth is ended, it is a happy memory to look back on this great mission as forming a splendid climax to a life which was pre-eminent, if not unique, in the spiritual influence which it exerted on people of all classes.

CONCLUSION

This brief review of South African Church history has shown us that that figure-head which first confronts the voyager beneath the Southern Cross, and which stands for what lies beyond it, is indeed a cape of storms. The different traditions, the misunderstandings, the varying aims and ideals of many races, have produced, and

will continue to produce, many a conflict. One thing alone can reconcile those misunderstandings, and draw hearts into stable and loving union—the grace of the HOLY SPIRIT, and the enthusiasm of the one all-embracing and all-satisfying kingdom of GOD. But the solid and ever-growing work of good men which the record describes is slowly but surely revealing the vision, and kindling the enthusiasm, of that kingdom, lifting the eyes of men to those holy hills. South Africa, though physically a vast country, is, on its human side, a very small country, closely knit together. The people of Capetown know all about the people of Port Elizabeth and Durban, and those of Durban and Kimberley know all about those of Johannesburg and of Buluwayo. Family connections and business relations unite them. And, therefore, ideals and standards of life and thought which touch Johannesburg to-day will affect Capetown and Durban to-morrow. And the tone of the towns affects the farmers in remotest districts, whose links with the towns and their markets and their society are many and close. And the native races draw in through every pore the spirit which prevails among the white men around

them. So the way of the LORD is prepared, every valley is exalted, and every mountain and hill is made low, and the crooked made straight, and the rough places plain. Can we doubt but that the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and the whole great country shall yet, in GOD'S good time, fulfil the promise of its early name—The Cape of Good Hope?

APPENDIX A

LATER STAGES OF THE NATAL CONTROVERSY

BISHOP Gray died on September 1, 1872, in his sixty-third year, his death being chiefly due to a fall from his horse, so that he and his great friend Bishop Wilberforce were, so far, alike in the circumstances of their death. At this moment we are concerned, however, with that event in its bearing on the Church controversy dealt with in Chapter III.

In the following month (October, 1872), Bishop Colenso wrote a long letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury as to the legal position of affairs in South Africa, and the possible effect of the constitution of the Church of the Province on the tenure of property. According to the Bishop's view, all the property vested in Bishop Gray under his first Letters Patent was lying derelict for want of a trustee to hold it. The second

Bishop
Colenso's
letter to
Archbishop
Tait.

Letters Patent, having been pronounced void, failed to create a corporation to which the property held under the first Letters could pass. This applied to property in all the three dioceses, Capetown, Grahamstown, and Natal. In addition to this there was much property acquired at a later date, but vested in the Bishop of Capetown "in trust for the Church of England." In all these cases there would be difficulty about the succession in the trust, and unless the new Bishop were clearly a Bishop of the Church of England, and not simply a Bishop of the Church of the Province of South Africa, neither Courts nor Legislature would give recognition to any claims the Bishop might make to succeed to the trusteeship. Bishop Colenso went on to point out particulars in which the Church of the Province of South Africa would be held to be a distinct body from the Church of England from a lawyer's point of view. "(1) Because the Synod has expressly excluded the Bishop, clergy, and laity of the Diocese of Natal from all share in its deliberations; (2) because of the third proviso [which he proceeded to quote]; and (3) because the Synod forbids any clergyman to celebrate Holy Matrimony between persons, the divorced

husband or wife of either of whom is still alive, thus making it criminal for the clergy of the Church of the Province of South Africa to do what would be perfectly lawful for a clergyman of the Church of England."

Whatever may be thought as to the force of the first and third of Bishop Colenso's reasons, there was considerable force in the second, as was brought out in the next important judgement which was pronounced by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This was the case of *Merriman v. Williams*. The plaintiff in this case Merriman
v.
Williams. was the Bishop of Grahamstown (who had succeeded Bishop Cotterill when the latter was translated to the See of Edinburgh in 1871) and the defendant was the Dean of Grahams-town. Although Dean Williams had taken a prominent part in the Provincial Synod of 1870, and in the election of Bishop Merriman, he afterwards attached himself to the party who held the same views as the followers of Bishop Colenso in Natal, and called themselves "Church of England" as opposed to the "Church of the Province of South Africa." After a long period of disagreement between the Bishop and the Dean, which was made the more public and unpleasant

by the fact that the latter had taken to journalism and become editor of a local paper, which he could use as the organ of his ecclesiastical views, the Bishop brought things to a point by applying to the Supreme Court of the Colony to restrain the Dean from preventing his preaching in the Cathedral Church of S. George. The Supreme Court of the Cape Colony gave its decision against the Bishop, declaring that the Church of the Province had separated itself "root and branch" from the Church of England. And then the matter came, on appeal, before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. As between the Bishop and the Dean the Privy Council decided in favour of the Bishop, on the ground that the Dean, by subscribing to the constitution of the Church of the Province, and taking the prominent part which he had in its organization, had debarred himself from objecting to it. But the question was not merely between these two suitors. Third parties were concerned, and, as against those who had not subscribed to the constitution of the province, but still claimed allegiance only to the Church of England "as by law established," and subscribed to its formularies and to the interpretation put upon them by the constituted authorities, the

Judgement
of Supreme
Court.

Privy
Council.

Court pronounced that the Bishop could not claim a right to property which was held "in trust for the Church of England as by law established." This result was arrived at by an examination of the Constitution of the Church of the Province, and especially of its "third proviso." The Court recognized that there might be, after the judgements declaring the Church in South Africa to be a voluntary body, a necessity for it to constitute its own ecclesiastical tribunals, "But their lordships consider that the proviso under consideration is very much more than a recognition of the facts of the case; and that the Church of South Africa, so far from having done all in its power to maintain the connection, has taken occasion to declare emphatically that at this point the connection is not maintained. . . . In the Church of South Africa a clergyman preaching the same doctrines [as have been held legal in England] may find himself presented for, and found guilty of, heresy. . . . There is not the identity in the standards of faith and doctrine which appears to their lordships necessary to establish the connection required by the trust on which the Church of S. George is settled. There are different standards on im-

portant points. In England the standard is the formularies of the Church as judicially interpreted. In South Africa it is the formularies as they may be construed without the interpretation. It is argued that the divergence made by the Church of South Africa is only potential and not actual, and that we have no right to speculate on its effect until the tribunals of South Africa have shown whether they will agree or disagree with those of England. Their lordships think that the divergence is present and actual. It is the agreement of the two Churches which is potential."

Alleged
separation
of the
Church of
the Pro-
vince.

Here, then, is another "Charter of the Colonial Church" according to the views of Bishop Colenso's friends. And it is worth while once again to pause and ask what course the Church of South Africa ought to have adopted. There is, no doubt, the simple and alluring advice of Lord Romilly. The Church of South Africa might simply have bound itself by the laws of the Church of England, whatever, in the providence of its legislative authorities, in which the colonies had no share, that law might be, and by the decisions of Courts to which it had no access. But it is inconceivable that the great and growing Church of the whole colonial

empire should renounce all power of legislation, and leave itself helpless in the hands of legislators six thousand miles away, of Convocations in which it had no voice, and Parliament in which it had no representation. It is inconceivable that it should renounce all power of discipline of its own—have no Ecclesiastical Courts—but resort, in every case of ritual or doctrinal irregularity, to the Courts of the State; to have the most sacred questions debated and decided by judges who might be agnostics or bitter antagonists of the Church. It was inevitable, therefore, that the Church, being declared a voluntary body, should provide its own machinery both for legislation and for discipline. But was it wise or necessary to announce beforehand, as the third proviso does, that Privy Council decisions will not be held binding? Archbishop Benson, for one, never disguised his opinion that it was a mistake. He himself, in the famous Lincoln case, set aside certain decisions of the Privy Council, but he did not begin by declaring (though he was invited by counsel to do so) that he would disregard the judgements of the Privy Council. In the same way, he felt that it would have been wiser for the Church of

Proposed
Repeal of
third
Proviso.

South Africa to try each case on its merits, and, if the evidence seemed to justify a reversal of the previous judgements, then would have been the time for the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Church of South Africa to assert their independence. There is no doubt that this course would have saved the Church from many troubles and perplexities, and there has been more than one attempt made in the Provincial Synod to repeal the third proviso. But to remove it after it has stood part of the Constitution is a very different thing from leaving it out at the first. Many men who would have voted against its original insertion would not vote for its deletion. To have had it and removed it would be held not merely to restore the non-committal attitude; it would be taken to imply a deliberate acceptance of Privy Council judgements. And there are few branches of the Anglican communion which would be prepared to-day to adopt that attitude.

Such was the position of the controversy when Bishop Colenso died in 1883. The Law Courts had had before them certain clearly-defined questions as to the title to property held under certain trusts. They had pointed out the course which

would have secured to the Church of South Africa an indefeasible title. If she had had no third proviso, if she had retained the name "Church of England," if she had frankly and unconditionally accepted Church of England law and Privy Council interpretation of that law, her title to property held "in trust for the Church of England as by law established" would have been as good as the circumstances admitted. That, and that only, was the business of their lordships of the Judicial Committee. It was not their business, and they never pretended to regard it as such, to say whether, in view of other and higher considerations, such a course was expedient. It was no part of their function to advise, for instance (to take one small point), whether the title "Church of England" was really the most suitable for a Church out of England which might, in the future, comprise many nationalities. They had to define the conditions of a legal title to property, not to advise the Church on ecclesiastical polity, as to how she would best advance the kingdom of GOD.

In the recent controversy in the Free Church of Scotland (which presents many points of similarity to the case of Natal) the Judges did

Analogy of
United
Free
Church of
Scotland.

not say that the Free Church *ought* not to have joined the United Presbyterian Church. That was no part of their business. They were not commissioned to guide or dictate ecclesiastical polity. What they did say was that the union of the two did introduce certain complications with regard to the trusts on which the property of the Free Church was held. It remained for the Church itself to say whether the gains of the union justified the risk of such complication, and indeed (as it proved) loss of property. But, although the Lords of the Judicial Committee never dreamed of so exceeding their rightful function as to dictate to the Church in South Africa what might be her true policy for the good of men in the future, they were so interpreted by the so-called Church of England party. That party, on the strength of these utterances, adopted a tone of moral superiority. They claimed a special loyalty to the Mother Church, and obedience to the sovereign, as if to secure a legal title to property were a higher duty than to provide for the development and self-government of the growing Church of the British Empire beyond the seas.

At Bishop Colenso's death, then, there were

two separate Anglican Churches in South Africa. In Natal the so-called Church of England had its Church Council and a certain number of clergy who had been ordained by Bishop Colenso or adhered to his party. In the Cape Colony there were certain congregations which, without such organization or episcopal superintendence, adhered to the same principles and remained aloof from the Church of the Province, refusing to accept its Constitution and Canons, or to send representatives to its Synods. On the other hand, there was the Church of the Province, represented in Natal by the Diocese of Maritzburg, fully organized according to the rules of the Province, with its Bishop and archdeacons, its Diocesan Synod, its cathedral with dean and chapter, and its parochial clergy.

When Bishop Colenso died Archbishop Benson strongly advised Bishop Macrorie to resign the See of Maritzburg. Both parties might then have accepted a new Bishop; much bitter controversy might have been avoided; and the breach might have been healed more easily than at a later date, when years of painful recrimination had widened it. The way for Bishop Macrorie's resignation seemed at that moment

Bishop
Colenso's
death.

to be made easy, for the See of Bloemfontein happened to be vacant, and he would have been cordially welcomed in that diocese. However, Bishop Macrorie wrote quite definitely to the Archbishop, giving his reasons for remaining at his post. "I am persuaded," he said, "that, independently of the heavy responsibility incurred by the voluntary severance of so sacred a tie, the effect of such a step, instead of tending to secure the object which we have at heart, must produce the saddest confusion in men's minds, confirming the strangely erroneous notions which prevail on one side respecting the Church and her constitution, and on the other unsettling men in those principles which the struggles and sufferings of the past twenty years have been designed to teach them."

Division
stereo-
typed.

The course which things took after Bishop Colenso's death tended rather to stereotype the existing division; and, although the dissentient party was weak as regarded the number of their clergy, it included many influential laymen, and the legal position with regard to property gave it additional solidity.

All the property held in trust for "the Church of England," of which Bishop Colenso had been

trustee, was placed by the Supreme Court of Natal in the custody of Curators of the Court, chosen from the so-called Church of England party. The Church Council continued to meet, and to administer the affairs of that body, and a constant agitation was maintained to obtain from the Mother Church the appointment of a successor to Bishop Colenso as a Church of England Bishop. First, Sir George Cox (Bishop Colenso's biographer), and later (on Bishop Macrorie's resignation) the Rev. W. Ayerst, were nominated by the Church Council for the office, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was asked to consecrate. The Archbishop naturally disowned any *locus standi* in a province wholly outside his own, and declined to do anything to perpetuate the schism in the South African Church, and refused to apply for the Queen's mandate for the consecration.

At last, in 1891, Bishop Macrorie decided to resign, and, after his return to England, accepted an appointment to a canonry at Ely. Bishop Macrorie, when first called to Natal, had fully realized the enormous difficulty and the thanklessness of the task before him. He had faced it in a heroic and saintly spirit. Throughout

Bishop
Macrorie's
resigna-
tion.

his long episcopate he had combined firmness of principle and courageous persistence with the utmost gentleness and courtesy. And when he laid down his office ungrudging testimony was borne, even by those who remained unreconciled to the Province, to his goodness and his saintly and loving character.

Bishop Macrorie having resigned, Archbishop Benson felt that the time had come when he might, if it were desired, intervene with some hope of success. Accordingly, he allowed it to be known that if both parties (the Synod of the Diocese of Maritzburg on the one hand, and the Church Council of the Diocese of Natal on the other) were willing to delegate the appointment of a Bishop to him, he would send a single Bishop, whose work it would be to draw together the two bodies. After a protracted correspondence between Sir Theophilus Shepstone (representing the Church Council) and the Archbishop, both parties delegated the selection of their Bishop to Archbishop Benson, and he appointed the present writer, who had been for nearly four years his domestic chaplain.

The new Bishop was consecrated on Michaelmas Day, 1893, in Westminster Abbey. He landed in

Natal on November 23rd, being accompanied by the present Bishop of Natal, whom he had brought out to fill the vacant post of Archdeacon of Durban, the Rev. J. C. Todd, his chaplain, and other clergy. The Bishop was met on board the *Scot* by a large number of representatives of both sections of the divided Church, and that evening a large and enthusiastic *soirée* was held in the Town Hall, Durban, to welcome him, at which, for the first time, all parties combined and vied with each other in the warmth of their welcome. The following Sunday the Bishop was enthroned in S. Saviour's Cathedral, Pietermaritzburg, by the venerable Dean Green, and preached his first sermon, and that same evening preached in S. Peter's, which had been the original cathedral of Bishop Colenso, being accompanied by the Dean, who had not officiated in that church, of which he had been the first incumbent, since he had been ejected by Bishop Colenso.

For the moment all seemed enthusiasm, and the prospects of final and cordial reunion seemed of the brightest. But those who looked below the surface knew only too well that there were still storms ahead. In his reply to the address of welcome in the Maritzburg Town Hall the Bishop

had begged his audience to allow all controversy to rest, at least for the first year, to accept the position as it was, to impose no new conditions, to ask for no further concessions on either side, not to reopen old sores, but to secure a period of peace for Church work to go quietly forward: to restore a better mutual understanding and a truer sense of proportion.

This request, heartily as it was received, was not granted. Very soon the "Church Council" of the so-called "Church of England" met and drew up an address to the Bishop in which they demanded that he should sign an undertaking to preserve intact the Constitution of that Church and the bye-laws of the Church Council. This was not only a new condition, which had formed no part of the agreement between the Archbishop and Sir Theophilus Shepstone (acting on behalf of the Church Council), but it was in direct contradiction to all that the Archbishop had insisted on, and it would have meant that the new Bishop was to close the door to reunion, and to tie his own hands before he put them to the work. It would have meant that, so far from accomplishing reunion, the Bishop acquiesced in the continuance of two separate and rival Churches, and agreed to act in

Demands
of Church
Council.

a dual capacity as the Bishop of both. All appeals to the members of the Church Council not to press this demand were in vain, and there was nothing for it but for the new Bishop to meet the Church Council and put formally before them his reasons for declining to sign such an undertaking. There was no time to consult the Archbishop of Canterbury as to his decision in this matter; but the Archbishop, as it afterwards proved, was even more strongly opposed to any such concession than the Bishop himself, for he wrote, "You must not sign even the Thirty-nine Articles if they are imposed as a condition of acceptance." This demand of the Church Council proved to be as the letting out of waters, and there began a new course of controversy. The Bishop met the Church Council and put before them clearly what he could and what he could not do in the way of concessions to the "Church of England" party. He said, "I am prepared to guarantee to your congregations protection from the third proviso, to accept from your clergy a simple declaration of obedience to me as a Church of England Bishop" (instead of requiring them to sign the Constitution of the Church of the Province) "and to administer the properties subject to the trusts in which they

Concessions offered.

are vested—that is, for the purposes of the Church of England.”

The Bishop's position was this:—The Church of the Province of South Africa is a voluntary association, to the laws of which people are bound by voluntary contract. These congregations and clergy have not yet voluntarily accepted that constitution, and they are not to be coerced. Until they do so accept them they are in the same position as that which Mr. Long occupied at the Cape, when he was held by the Courts to owe obedience to the Bishop of Capetown in any matters which a Bishop of the Church of England could command, but not in matters which belong only to the Constitution of the Church of South Africa, as, for instance, the announcing of synods or attending them, or submitting to their decrees. All that must come voluntarily when it comes. In the meantime these people stand to their Bishop on the basis of the Church of England, subject to its laws and the interpretation put upon those laws and no other. Certain congregations at the Cape had remained on this footing from the beginning, from the Synod of 1870 at which the Constitution of the Church of the Province had been first drawn up. To this condition of affairs

the Bishop was willing to assent, but not to the maintenance of a separate Church claiming to maintain a separate diocesan organization and imposing conditions on its Bishop (such as the signing of the bye-laws of the Church Council) unknown to the Church at home. To agree to this last would have been to stultify himself and to defeat the whole object of his mission, viz., the drawing together of the two into one Church.

The Bishop was also justified in offering such special terms to those who had not as yet seen their way to agree to the Constitution of the Church of the Province by a canon which had been passed in 1883, which authorized "the Bishops . . . to take such measures . . . with regard to churches held under special trusts, particularly those involving legal connection with the Church of England as by law established, as shall in their judgement best conduce to the peace of the Church, . . . and further sanctions such action of the said Bishops as shall guarantee to their ministers (being clergy of the Church of the Province) and to the congregations thereof, that nothing shall be required in the conduct of their services which cannot be required in the Church of England as by law established."

Conces-
sions
refused.

But no such concessions would satisfy the extremists among the Church Council. They had repeated, through so many years, the *dicta* of the law courts as to the separation "root and branch" of the Church of the Province from the Mother Church (*dicta* referring, it will be remembered, solely to the tenure of property) that they would be satisfied with nothing less than the recognition of their own little body as the "Church of England," to which all the rest of South Africa must come back. Hence they proceeded to extremes. They decided that until the Bishop had signed the required declaration he was not their Bishop, thus repudiating their unconditional delegation to the Archbishop. And at several consecutive sittings of the Church Council, at which the Bishop was present, he was not invited to take the chair, which was occupied by the senior presbyter (as provided by the rules on occasions when the Bishop of the diocese was not present).

Further than this, the Curators had, after six months, made no sign of fulfilling the undertaking made by the Church Council as to the payment of the Bishop's stipend out of the funds in their custody, and they were being threatened with

legal proceedings if they ventured to do so. It was plain, therefore, that things had come to a deadlock, and some step was necessary to secure a *modus vivendi*. The Bishop, therefore, proceeded to draft a Bill, to be introduced into the Natal Parliament at its ensuing session, creating him trustee, in succession to Bishop Colenso, of all the properties of which the trusteeship had lapsed owing to the cessation of Letters Patent which had created the Bishop of Natal a "corporation sole." This brought matters to a head. The members of the Church Council had definitely to make up their minds whether they did or did not want a Bishop. If they did they would be bound to support the Bill. If they did not, they would have to show their hand by opposing the Bill. And in that case the Bishop felt pretty sure that they would have the colony, and even the majority of their own constituents, against them. There followed a series of stormy meetings of the Church Council, held sometimes in Durban and sometimes in Pietermaritzburg—the two parties within the Council (which we may call the Moderates and the Extremists) being pretty equally balanced. At last, on May 2, 1894, after a whole day's discussion, an amendment to a resolution approv-

Draft Bill.

Rejected.

ing the Bill was carried by fourteen votes to eleven. This amendment simply postponed all consideration of the Bill in consequence of the Bishop's refusal to sign the declaration. It was a victory for the Extremists, who then rose to leave the meeting with much jubilation. At this point, however, the Bishop intervened to explain the position. He thanked those members who had by their words and votes striven for peace. He explained that the Bill was drafted in the hope of settling once for all the question whether he was or was not their Bishop, which at present seemed (in their view) to depend on a chance majority of the Church Council. The Bill, if passed into law, would have enabled him to provide for their wants in the matter of clergy. And it would have justified him in administering the properties on the basis of Church of England law. But he had no intention of pressing the Bill unless he was assured of their hearty support. The Bill being dropped, the Bishop explained the position in which they were left. "You have set aside your delegation and declined my services as Bishop. Nothing is further from my thoughts than to intrude where I am not wanted. I shall not, therefore,

Appeal to
congrega-
tions.

attempt to act as your Bishop. But if your clergy are loyal to the Mother Church and to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to their Ordination vows, they will place themselves under the Bishop appointed by his Grace with the licence of the Queen. Further, any congregations who object to be deprived of the services of the Bishop and clergy, and of their connection through him with the whole Church of England, have a way open to them. They can, by formal vote of the vestry, disown the action of the Church Council, sever their connection with it by withdrawing their delegates, and place themselves and the appointment of their clergy in the hands of the Bishop."

This declaration had the desired effect. Instead of breaking up (as it was about to do when the Bishop rose), the Church Council hastily decided to adjourn till the following morning to consider the Bishop's announcement. On the following day the Church Council was reduced to the humiliating position of having to perform its own happy dispatch by recommending the vestries to make their own terms with the Bishop. Accordingly, withing a few weeks, all the vestries of the dissentient churches had met and (encouraged by the

Vestries
disown
Church
Council.

unanimous advice of the newspaper press of the colony) had passed resolutions disowning the action of the Church Council, and placing themselves unconditionally in the hands of the Bishop.

The actual words of the resolution passed at S. Peter's (Bishop Colenso's cathedral) were as follows:—"That this vestry, having lost confidence in the Church Council, and disowning the action taken by that body at its last sitting, regards it as no longer representing the feelings of this vestry, and hereby places this church, the conduct of the services, and the appointment of the clergy and the control of its affairs, confidently and unreservedly, in the hands of the Bishop."

A modus
vivendi.

From this time onward the Church Council ceased to exist, and the work of reunion went quietly forward. The curators carried out the undertaking as to their contribution to the Bishop's stipend, the deacon in charge of S. Peter's Cathedral was, with the approval of the congregation, removed, and Archdeacon Baines appointed Incumbent. Under his wise and affectionate pastorate the congregation finally threw in its lot with the Church of the Province, appointing delegates to the Synod. Two others of the dissentient clergy were, with the approval of their congrega-

tions, removed, and the itinerary system, by which one of their number had fomented disunion in country places, was discontinued. The one congregation that continued to give trouble was S. Paul's, Durban. On its incumbency becoming vacant the Bishop proposed to appoint Archdeacon Baines. In accordance with his promise to the dissentient congregations, the Bishop did not require from their clergy an assent to the Constitution of the Province, but simply those subscriptions which are required in the Church in England; so that, for instance, in the case of S. Paul's, Durban, the archdeacon, in his capacity of minister of that church, would have been subservient to the law of the Church of England, and to no other. But because, in his capacity as archdeacon, Mr. Baines had subscribed to the Constitution and Canons of the Province (just as the Bishop himself had done), the congregation refused to receive him. And again there was a dead-lock. This was only relieved by the Bishop offering to move to Durban for a year and undertake, with the help of a curate, the incumbency himself. At the end of that time the congregation willingly accepted a clergyman who signed the Constitution, even in his capacity of incumbent.

S. Paul's,
Durban.

Still, the two congregations of S. Paul's and S. Thomas's, Durban, had not yet followed the example of S. Peter's in fully uniting with the Church of the Province and sending representatives to the Synod. The great stumbling-block, always alleged, was the third proviso. The Bishop had never held out any hopes of getting that proviso repealed, for the reasons given above. But he had consistently pointed out that that proviso contained its own solution. For it foreshadowed the creation of a Court of Appeal which would have made impossible what had happened in Bishop Colenso's case, viz., the condemnation of a clergyman in South Africa without appeal to the Mother Church. If the latent promise contained in the third proviso of a Court of Appeal in England could once be fulfilled, so that the last word on faith and doctrine would be said at Canterbury and not at Capetown, the sting would be removed from the obnoxious proviso.

Proposed
Court of
Appeal.

Lambeth
Confer-
ence, 1897.

On these lines of reform the Bishop concentrated his energies. He went home to the Lambeth Conference of 1897 full of hope that the urgent needs of the much-tried Church in Natal would persuade the Bishops to agree to that which

was proposed on the agenda, viz., the creation of a Court of Appeal (or, as it was called, a Tribunal of Reference) for the whole Anglican communion. Five days after landing in England, however (Easter, 1897), the Bishop was laid low with enteric and peritonitis, and for five months (till long after the Lambeth Conference had concluded its sittings) he lay between life and death. It was a matter of acute disappointment to him to hear that, chiefly owing to the misgivings of the American Bishops, the proposal of a Tribunal of Reference had been thrown out. However, the Conference had not been altogether barren of result as far as Natal affairs were concerned. It had resolved that a "Consultative Body" should be created, and that the constitution of it should be left in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus, for the first time, the Anglican communion was to possess a central standing committee. It occurred to the Bishop that this Consultative Body might provide, for the time being, that which was needed. For it was possible for the Provincial Synod of South Africa, by its own canons, to make this Consultative Body its Court of Appeal. But there were many difficulties in the way—many preliminary ques-

"Consultative Body."

tions to be settled. Would the Consultative Body agree to act in a judicial capacity? Would the Provincial Synod agree to do what might seem to be going behind the Lambeth Conference, and obtaining that which it had refused to grant? And finally, most important of all, would the dissentient churches in Natal accept such a solution as a basis of reunion?

As to the last of these questions, the Bishop, on his return to Natal, proceeded to call a joint meeting of the vestries of S. Paul's and S. Thomas's, and put to them the question, whether, in case he should succeed in persuading the Provincial Synod to create this Court of Appeal, and so take the sting out of the third proviso, they would accept the olive-branch and agree to complete reunion. After a long debate the united vestries resolved by a majority of more than three to one that they would do so. The two other questions were complicated by the fact that a whole year passed, and the Provincial Synod, which meets only at intervals of five or six years, was at hand, and nothing had been heard from the Archbishop of Canterbury as to who were to be the members of this Consultative Body. Till this was known it was impossible to ask the Consultative Body

A basis of
Union.

whether it would agree to act as a Court of Appeal, and it was unlikely that the Provincial Synod would agree to legislate in the dark, and place themselves in the hands of a body which was still, as far as its constitution was concerned, an unknown factor. As only two months were left before the meeting of the Provincial Synod (in October, 1898), and it was too late for further correspondence with the Archbishop, the Bishop decided to make a rapid journey to England.

On his arrival at Capetown, *en route* for Eng-land, the Bishop found that the reply of the Archbishop, for which he had waited a whole year, had that day arrived. This announced that the Consultative Body was to consist of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, of the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, of the Archbishop of Armagh and the Primus of Scotland, of one episcopal representative of each Colonial Province, and one representative of Dioceses not organized into Provinces. Owing to a terrible railway accident, which had delayed the train for nine hours, the Bishop had only five minutes to decide whether to go back to Natal or to go on to England, but he decided that it would be a great reinforcement to his proposal if he were able to

Flying visit
to England.

announce that the English Bishops who were members of the Consultative Body approved of his proposed canon. So he proceeded on his voyage.

In a three weeks' visit he was able to secure the warm approval in writing of all the English Bishops whom the Archbishop had now appointed as members of the Consultative Body. Armed with this support he returned to Capetown, and after a long and animated debate the Provincial Synod passed the new canon, with only three dissentients. Telegrams of rejoicing flowed in from Natal, and on the Bishop's return there the congregation of S. Thomas's fulfilled their pledge and gave in their final alliance to the Church of the Province, appointing their delegates to the Diocesan Synod. The congregation of S. Paul's, after long and anxious meetings, finally went back upon their undertaking, and professed to have discovered new reasons against carrying out their promise to unite. It was this resolution which largely contributed to the Bishop's decision to resign. After such a breach of faith it became increasingly difficult for the Bishop to build any fresh bridge by which the congregation of S. Paul's could pass, with any sort of grace, across the chasm which separated

them from the Province. But he knew that, in case of his retirement, the next Bishop would not occupy the sort of dual position which he had held, but would be a Bishop of the Church of the Province, pure and simple, and that the congregation of S. Paul's would have to make their choice between accepting him and the organization of the Province, or of losing at once the ministrations of Bishop and incumbent, for it was clear that the Vicar of S. Paul's would not remain at his post in opposition to the new Bishop. It may be seen from the letter published in Archbishop Benson's Life (vol. ii, pp. 509-10) that he had not asked the Bishop to remain permanently in Natal. He had sent him out rather, as he said, as a Vicar-apostolic than as a Colonial Bishop in the ordinary sense, and he had mentioned seven years as the period for which he wished the Bishop to pledge himself, which period had now expired. In January, 1901, therefore, the Bishop resigned his office and, according to his expectation, his namesake and former Archdeacon was appointed as his successor, and he felt that the work could not have been committed to safer or wiser or kindlier hands. The new Bishop's consecration took place in Capetown on August 4, 1901. The

Bishop
Hamilton
Baynes
resigns.

Bishop
Baines.

forecast already mentioned, as to what was likely to happen at S. Paul's, Durban, was very soon verified. Within a few months of the arrival of the new Bishop the congregation had decided to throw in its lot with the Church of the Province, and it is now represented in the Diocesan Synod. This important step may be said to have practically completed the work of reunion. It is true there was still one clergyman with a small following in a little church near the docks at Durban who remained aloof. But in this case the reasons were mainly personal, neither of the Bishops having seen their way to invite his co-operation.

Reunion.

One thing only remained to cement on the material side the spiritual union thus accomplished. The legal difficulty as to the Church properties remained. We have seen that the trusteeship vested in the Bishop of Natal had lapsed with Bishop Colenso's death, as the corporation created by Letters Patent ceased with the cessation of that method of appointing Colonial Bishops, and the properties remained in the hands of curators of the Court. And the Grahams-town judgement continued to be a bar to the use by the Church of the Province of these properties held in trust "for the Church of England." The

The
Property
question.

case was very similar to that of the Free Church of Scotland. In both cases certain constitutional modifications were held so far to depart from the original trusts as to invalidate the title of the main body of the Church to properties which it had previously enjoyed, and gave a control of those properties to a comparatively insignificant body out of all proportion to its size and importance. In the case of Scotland, legislation has been obtained, though even now it leaves the smaller claimant with an undue share. In the case of Natal, legislation was needed both to create a new trustee and to declare the United Church to be the "Cestui que Trust." With this object the Bishop, on the advice of the Synod and with the co-operation of certain leading laymen, introduced a Bill into the Natal Parliament; but outside influences, which the few still remaining dissentients in the Church were able to invoke, sufficed to block its progress, and the attempt was, for the time, abandoned. It cannot, however, be long before the congregations whose churches are still in the hands of the curators (such as S. Peter's, Maritzburg, S. Paul's and S. Thomas's, Durban, and a few others) and indeed Churchmen throughout the diocese, will make their influence felt, and

will ask the Natal Legislature to follow the precedent of the Imperial Parliament, in the matter of the Scottish Churches, and to deliver them from a state of things which materially hinders their development. This might be done, not as in the case of Scotland, by dividing the properties between two Churches—for in Natal there is now only one—but by a short Declaratory Act declaring that the Church of the Province, the legal decisions notwithstanding, is to be held to be “the Church of England,” as intended by the Trust Deeds of the properties concerned.

APPENDIX B

LETTER OF BISHOP COTTERILL TO ARCHBISHOP TAIT

IN the *Life of Archbishop Tait* by the present Archbishop of Canterbury (vol. i, p. 370 *et seq.*), it will be seen that in the year 1866 Dr. Tait, then Bishop of London, wrote a circular letter to all the dignitaries of the Colonial Church asking their opinion on four points connected with the relations of the Mother Church and her Colonial daughters. The present Archbishop has kindly allowed me to consult the replies to these questions. The answer of Bishop Cotterill of Grahamstown adds considerable force to the argument which I have advanced in the text against the practicability of that solution of the problem which Lord Romilly suggested in his famous judgement, viz., that Colonial Churchmen should simply subscribe to the law of the Church of England *en bloc*, and renounce all self-government.

Bishop Cotterill writes:—"To form any correct judgement of these questions it is necessary to understand, what many English Churchmen, looking at them from their own standing point, and with experience formed under totally different circumstances, wholly misapprehend—the peculiar condition, requirements, and functions of the English Church in the colonies, as distinguished from those of the Established Church in England. I speak, of course, primarily of the Church in this colony: but in these things it does not seem to differ materially from the Church in other colonies, except where, as in the East and West Indies, the Church has something of the nature of an establishment. Generally, then, the ecclesiastical law of England, not only has no force here—in the Cape Colony, indeed, all the laws of England have, by treaty, no force—but if it had, it would for the most part be quite inapplicable. In England it relates to matters which law itself determines. The division of parishes, the status and rights of the clergy, the limitation of their duties, their appointment to cures and the conditions under which they hold them, the tenure and use of Church property, the offices and duties of churchwardens, and other lay offices, the quali-

fications and rights of parishioners, are matters in which the State there makes full and distinct provision, and the Sovereign's ecclesiastical law is applicable to them. Here, on the contrary, no provision is made by law; it must be made, unless each Bishop should act on his own private judgement, by the mutual consent and co-operation of all parties in the Church, through Diocesan and other Synods. And in adapting English laws and usages to our circumstances, however desirous we may be of adhering strictly to English precedents, and retaining, so to speak, the very atmosphere of the Mother Church, yet not merely from the fact of its being the Established Church of the nation, whilst we are not, but also from the different laws, customs, habits, and very climate of the country, there must be considerable deviations from the original standard. Much allowance, also, must be made for the different temperament and feelings of men brought up under political institutions and associations widely differing from those which still exist in England, and yet more widely from those which did exist, when much of the English ecclesiastical system was framed. . . . But not only in such matters, but also in the more important one of the public

prayer and services of our Church, we must adapt the English rule to our own condition. Both the express command of an Apostle, and . . . the very spirit of our liturgy itself demands this introduction of special prayers for the Government of the colony ; and to suppose that, under all circumstances, in all different countries and climates, our duty to the Church of England obliges us strictly to adhere to the letter of her instructions would indeed be a serious impediment to the true development of our Church system throughout the British Empire. There must be freedom within certain limits, if we are to be a living and vigorous body, and not a stiffened and helpless corpse. I would mention as matters falling within my own experience, for which modification in our Church services are required here—the Government of the colony ; our missions among the heathen—in which considerable deviations from the rule of the Church of England are necessary—and the relations of the Church and its members towards the heathen and catechumens ; frequent droughts, for which the prayers in our liturgy are often unsuitable and insufficient : visitations of locusts, sickness among the cattle, blight of the crops, etc. ; and, lastly, though

certainly not of less importance, the question of the use of the Burial Service by a clergyman, in a country in which there is no National Church, and whose inhabitants are not assumed by the law of the land to be members of the Church or Christians at all. I have mentioned these various points, as sufficient indications that, as regards discipline, the Colonial Churches must have some organization of their own, not identical with that of the Church of England, however intimately related to it, and closely connected with it. And it is certain that two systems, that of a legalized organization, such as that of the Established Church of England, and that which is formed by mutual consent in regard to matters of Church discipline, cannot work together in the colonies."

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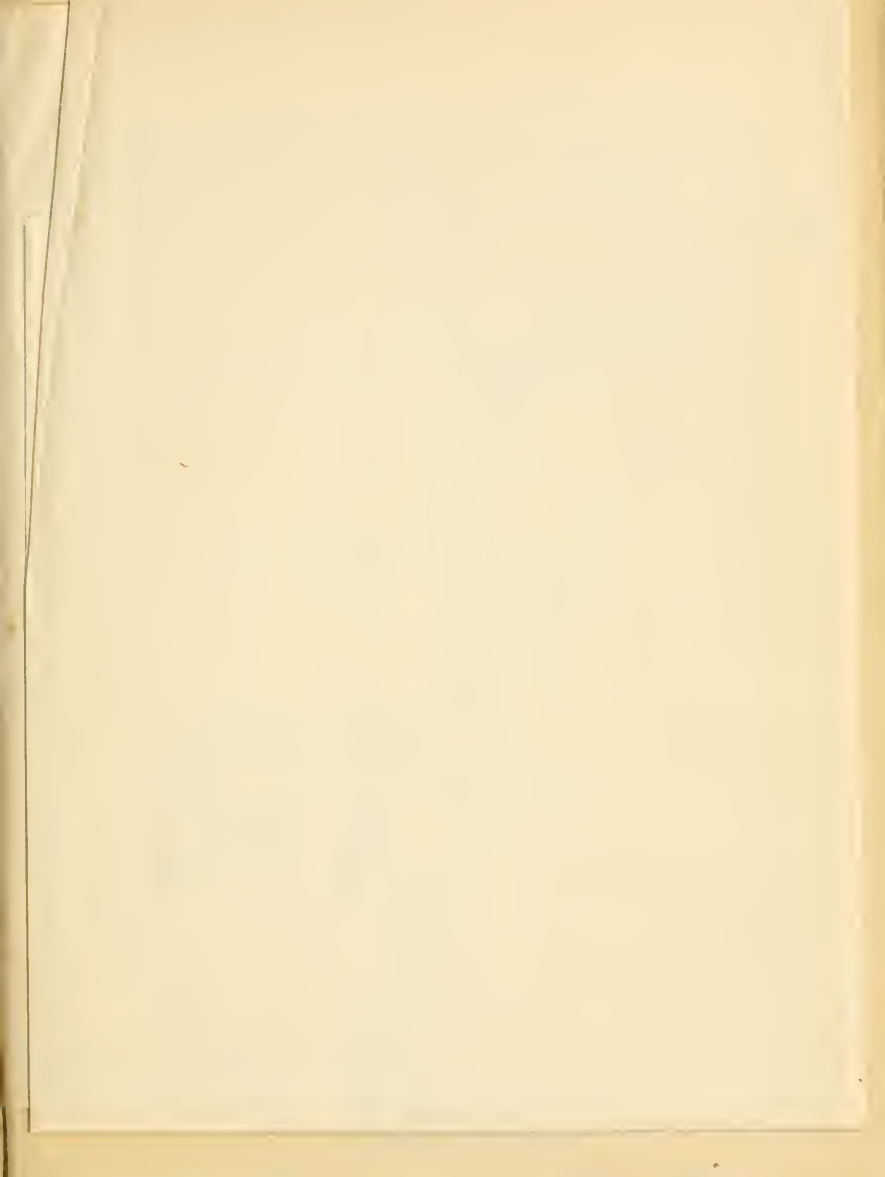
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